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No 64,299

MONDAY APRIL 6 1992

45p

Lib Dems stake coalition claim

Ashdown wants four posts in Labour cabinet

BY ROBIN OAKLEY, POLITICAL EDITOR

PADDY Ashdown will seek four cabinet places for Liberal Democrats in any coalition negotiations with a minority Labour government.

He believes that if any coalition government were to contain only one or two representatives from his party they would be constantly harried by sheer weight of numbers.

The Liberal Democrat leader thinks that Alan Beith, his party's economic spokesman, would make an ideal chief secretary to the Treasury. He also wants top table posts for Sir David Steel, the former Liberal leader, and for Menzies Campbell, his party's defence spokesman.

Mr Ashdown, who is said

by friends not to be determined on any particular role for himself, is believed to be prepared to become education secretary in a coalition cabinet. The Liberal Democrats have made education a priority throughout their campaign, emphasising their intention to put £100m income tax to pay for a £2 billion expansion. They have been rewarded by a recent poll showing that they are regarded as having a better policy on that issue than either of the two main parties.

Sources close to Mr Ashdown say he would like Sir David Steel to be offered a foreign affairs portfolio with a defence post going to Mr Campbell. The Liberal Democrat leader is not, however,

keen on suggestions in some quarters that he could become the minister for Europe, which Neil Kinnock is said to be contemplating. Colleagues say Mr Ashdown believes it's important for him to remain in the public eye, and he feels this can be best achieved if he takes a domestic ministry.

He responds to gibes from commentators that he is seeking to become the Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the British political scene (the Free Democrat politician who has been at the centre of the German coalition since 1974) by pointing out that while Herr Genscher's party gets about 7 per cent of the vote he expects to get three times that support. The implication is that he expects several cabinet jobs for his team.

Mr Ashdown is keen for his party to become involved in a full coalition rather than a pact because he believes that his MPs should gain experience in the disciplines of collective decision-making. He will also be pushing for prominent posts for Charles Kennedy, the party president, and for Malcolm Bruce, the leader of the Scottish Liberal Democrat party. Others whom he would expect to see in the ranks of coalition government are Jim Wallace, the chief whip, who would be closely involved in party links, and Simon Hughes and Margaret Taylor.

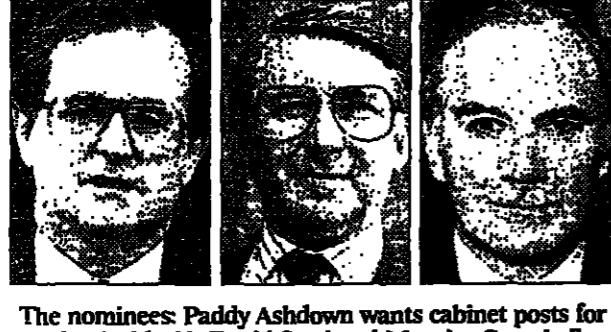
He will also be pushing for Lord Hobart of Cheltenham, who played a major role in drafting the Liberal Democrat manifesto, to be given a role in Northern Ireland. Robert Maclean, who was briefly leader of the SDP and a prime mover in drafting the Liberal Democrat constitution, will be the party's favoured candidate to tackle constitutional reform issues.

Under Labour's rules, Mr Kinnock must give cabinet positions to the 18 elected members of the shadow cabinet. He would also have to bring in a defence secretary and a Northern Ireland secretary since Martin O'Neill and Kevin McNamara, the party spokesmen on these subjects, are not elected members of the shadow cabinet.

Mr Kinnock would also have to appoint a Lord Chancellor and a Leader of the House of Lords. If he dropped any of the resulting 24 Labour posts to appoint Liberal Democrats, it would be likely to create considerable ructions within his party.

Any prime minister is allowed only 22 paid cabinet posts and Mr Kinnock would exceed that number even before he had created the promised cabinet posts for women and for environmental protection.

Mr Ashdown's audacity was greeted with derision in Labour circles last night, but it reflects the growing confidence in the Liberal Democrat camp that they will return to Westminster with a larger contingent of MPs than they have at present.



The nominees: Paddy Ashdown wants cabinet posts for Alan Beith, Sir David Steel and Menzies Campbell

Major tells voters not to fall on the sword of socialism

BY PHILIP WEBSTER AND NICHOLAS WOOD

WITH the weekend opinion polls pointing to a minority Labour government, John Major employed his most outspoken language of the campaign last night to warn Britain not to fall on the "sword of socialism".

All three leaders issued passionate appeals. Neil Kinnock staked his call for a majority Labour government on policies that would avoid confrontation and win consensus support.

Paddy Ashdown said that voters all over the country were turning to the Liberal Democrats, and called for the widest possible support to "control the extremes of the old parties".

A new bitterness was injected into the Conservative assault on Mr Kinnock last night as Norman Lamont, the Chancellor, virtually accused him of lying over his tax pledges.

Mr Major warned a London rally of the economic and constitutional perils of a Labour victory. The unity of the United Kingdom was at risk and a Kinnock victory or "Lib-Lab" coalition would bring a United States of Europe and economic slump. In earlier interviews he told the electorate it could not afford a protest vote and should not "sleepwalk" on Thursday.

The graphic tenor of Mr Major's language set the tone for the campaign's last phase and underlined his determination in the face of polls

that suggest Labour is likely to be the largest single party after Thursday's election.

To win outright Mr Major would have to achieve a swing of opinion greater than that managed throughout a whole campaign by the Conservatives in nine of the past ten contests. Nevertheless, like Mr Kinnock, he voiced his confidence yesterday in his party winning outright.

A series of five opinion polls in yesterday's papers averaged out at Labour 39.8 per cent, Conservatives 36.9 per cent and Liberal Democrats 19 per cent. Over the week the Conservatives were down nearly two points, Labour down half and the Liberal Democrats up more than two. If the poll of polls figure was repeated on Thursday Labour would be the biggest single party in a hung parliament with 317 seats, nine short of an overall majority. The Conservatives would have 286, the Liberal Democrats 20 and others 27.

As Mr Major tried to defy electoral history, Mr Kinnock intensified his efforts to widen Labour's appeal to attract the portion of undecided voters it needs to win an overall majority.

Until Thursday he and his shadow cabinet colleagues will stress that their policies on health, education, tackling the recession and replacing the poll tax appeal for at least two thirds of the population, and that the certain way

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and letters, page 17
L&T section, page 5

Cap reports, pages 28 and 30
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Lights, action, it's Gorby the movie star

FROM WILLIAM CASH
IN LOS ANGELES

MIKHAIL Gorbachev's choice of Los Angeles as the first stop of his American tour early next month has raised speculation in Hollywood that the former Soviet president has plans to develop his new career as a movie star.

The entertainment trade newspaper, *Variety*, last week reported that Mr Gorbachev appears in a small but crucial part in Wim Wenders' *In Weiter Ferne, So Nah (So Far and Yet So Near)*, the long-awaited sequel to *Wings of Desire*. In the film, starring Bruno Ganz, the hero continues his Dantesque role as an angel who lands on Earth, as in *Wings* — only this time he meets his saviour, Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr Gorbachev, who is understood to have seen *Wings* on video and is a fan of Wenders' work, decided to pursue his new screen role during a visit to Ger-

many last month. Originally Wenders had intended to have Mr Gorbachev decline text adapted from his bestselling autobiography.

No stranger to the camera, or the demands of professional acting, the former president disposed of the written script and improvised the footage in just four takes. However, his melancholic outpourings on the "meaning of life" and his "relationship with" Fyodor Dostoevsky, shot in a Munich hotel, could also mark his debut in *Pseudos' Corcoran Wenders*, in a written statement, applauded Mr Gorbachev for his "superior professionalism".

Although Mr Gorbachev's fee for the film has not been disclosed, agents and publishers in Tinseltown are lining up to sign the former president. A spokesman for one of the best known theatrical agencies said: "With the right sort of marketing, Gorbachev could become an extremely hot property — he could earn

even more from films than touring on the \$30,000-a-night lecture circuit."

The focus of the visit by Mr Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, to Los Angeles will be a reunion of former presidents. On Sunday, May 3, the Gorbachevs will be guests of honour at the Reagans' Rancho del Cielo in Santa Barbara, California. Ronald Reagan said last week: "I have long hoped to show Mikhail the true American West. He has heard me speak of its beauty for many years. I look forward to taking him to the ranch that is so dear to Nancy and me."

The visit will also mark the official opening of the Ronald Reagan Centre for Public Affairs based at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley — close to the favoured location of hundreds of Hollywood Westerns in the 1940s and 1950s. Mr Gorbachev is to receive the first "Ronald Reagan Freedom Award".



Gorbachev: no stranger to the camera



Family backing: Neil Kinnock with his son Stephen at the Labour party's celebrity reception in Millbank, London, last night

Underdogs head to Cup final

BY JOHN GOODBOY

SUNDERLAND became the first team from the second division to reach the FA Cup final for 12 years when they beat Norwich City 1-0 at Hillsborough yesterday. Their opponents have yet to be decided because, while they have yet to be decided because, when he got the decisive goal at Hillsborough, which was staging its first semi-final since the 1989 disaster. Police later praised the behaviour of the fans.

For seven minutes at Highbury, it looked as if Portsmouth could be in the final at Wembley on May 9. After a goalless 90 minutes, Darren Anderson gave Portsmouth the lead in extra time. With three minutes left, Ronny Whelan equalised. The replay will be at Villa Park on April 13.

Nigel Mansell, of Britain, completed a hat-trick of victories in the opening three Grands Prix of the Formula One season when he led his Williams team-mate, Riccardo Patrese, home in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Mansell now has 30 points, with Patrese on 18.

Later a petrol bomb was

Iran bombs rebel camps in Iraq

BY MICHAEL THEODOULOU IN NICOSIA
AND MICHAEL EVANS IN LONDON

RELATIONS between Iran and Iraq were at their lowest yesterday since the end of the eight-year war in 1988, following a bombing raid by Iranian F4 Phantoms on camps inside Iraq used by mujahedin rebels opposed to the Tehran regime.

The bombing raid inside Iraq, five days before parliamentary elections in Iran, was the first Iranian air strike on Iraqi territory since a UN-brokered ceasefire on August 20, 1988, and the most serious clash since March last year. The two former enemies have yet to sign a formal peace treaty.

Tehran said the raid was in retaliation for a mujahedin attack on two Iranian border villages on Saturday. Iran, the official Iranian news agency, said mujahedin forces had crossed the border near the town of Qasr-e-Shahin, killing, wounding and kidnapping an unspecified number of villagers.

The F4s bombed a mujahedin base at Ashraf, near the town of Khafra, 31 miles inside Iraq and 40 miles north of Baghdad. An Iraqi foreign ministry spokesman in Baghdad described the raids as "a blatant and unjustified aggression" and issued vague threats of retaliation. "Iraq warns the reckless Iranian regime of the consequences of this impudent, aggressive act and holds it fully responsible for the grave consequences," the official said.

The breakdown in relations

Continued on page 20, col 1

TODAY IN

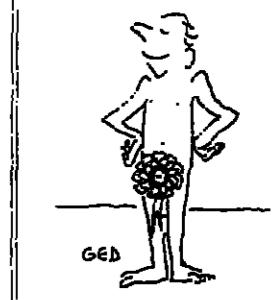
THE TIMES

POPULAR CHOICE



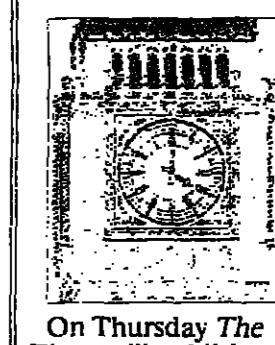
Handel's *Messiah* has been top of the choral charts for 250 years but the composer was less than confident about the first performance *Life & Times*, page 1

SARTORIAL CHOICE



Alice Thomson takes a look at what the well-dressed candidate is wearing *Life & Times*, page 5

NATION'S CHOICE



On Thursday *The Times* will publish an eight-page election guide and on Saturday, a complete list of results with a full political analysis

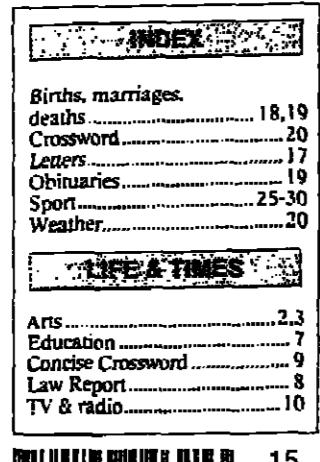
White House gloom, page 15

RAISED IN THE HIGHLANDS



THE FAMOUS GROUSE
FINEST SCOTCH WHISKY

QUALITY IN AN AGE OF CHANGE



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Housing scheme for mentally ill held up by funding dispute

By LOUISE HIDALGO

BUREAUCRATIC and financial wrangling has delayed part of the initiative to provide permanent housing for mentally ill people living rough in London.

More than 750 sheltered units are planned in London under the health department scheme, first announced two years ago by Stephen Dorrell, the junior health minister. The scheme is due to cost more than £20 million after fresh funds were pledged in January. A quarter were expected to open by the end of last month, but building has yet to begin because of disagreement over funding of

the management and care costs involved in running the homes.

An umbrella group representing the homeless and mentally ill, and involving Mind and Shelter, has said that, unless funding for the running costs is agreed, most of the 1,100 homeless in London requiring psychiatric care will not be housed.

The Housing Corporation, which regulates London housing associations, has agreed to fund the building of the new units, intended for people ready to move out of specialist short-term hostels. But it has refused to begin

work because of the uncertainty over running costs, the umbrella group says.

The corporation is understood to have asked the environment department, which funds it, to intervene to resolve the deadlock.

Health department officials, however, say that there is nothing to resolve and the running costs were always intended to be the responsibility of local authorities in the capital. A spokesman said that it was up to the authorities and the corporation to sort out the situation.

Local authorities have said that they cannot meet the extra costs, which the health department wants to come out of their own budgets, combined with a grant awarded last year for dealing with the mentally ill in their boroughs.

The environment department said yesterday that there had been a meeting between officials to discuss funding two weeks ago, where it had been agreed that the health department would be responsible.

Within the Housing Corporation, there seems to be disagreement about how to proceed. One source said that the scheme should not go ahead until the funding for running costs was agreed. Another claimed that building would start soon, with or without the funding issue resolved.

Sheila McKechnie, director of Shelter, said that the continuing wrangling could jeopardise the scheme. The aim is that, by August, London's homeless should be covered by four teams of mental health outreach workers and have six short-term hostels. If the permanent flats, supported by psychiatric workers, were not running soon, Shelter said, those hostels would be filled and people would end up back on the streets.

"It is scandalous that, almost two years after the initiative was announced, not one unit has even got the go-ahead for development," Ms McKechnie said.

Two specialist housing projects, providing temporary accommodation and care, have opened under the scheme, with places for a total of 31 people. More are being set up by the St Mungo's and Community housing associations.

If Caligula could grant a consulsiphip to his faithful steed, Incitatus, it may be logical for the Conservative party to claim the Grand National winner, Party Politics, as a new symbol of hope.

Yesterday, as around 400 well-wishers travelled to Saxon Gate Stables in Upper Lambourn to greet the returning Aintree hero, the temptation proved irresistible.

Judith Chaplin, political adviser to John Major in Downing Street and candidate in Newbury, was among the first to arrive at the yard, having been invited by Judy Gaselee, wife of the trainer and chairman of the local branch of the Conservative association.

"It is very important to have a winner just before the election in the constituency and this is a good omen,"

Party Politics' dashing Grand National win is being seen as a symbolic charge of the Right brigade, Richard Evans reports

Party Politics won the National; the Conservatives will win the election." Mrs Chapman said.

But in spite of the blue

roses and the many makeshift placards hammering home the political theme, most of those present seemed to take to heart one particular slogan, which read: "Never mind the politics, let's have the party."

Champagne corks started popping as Party Politics finally reached home shortly before midday. "I want the village to enjoy themselves and everybody to have a bit of fun," Nick Gaselee said.

"My horses have not been

right since Christmas due to

one or two niggling problems. You cannot believe it is going to come right in a race like this with a horse named like this."

David Stoddart, who sold

Party Politics for £80,000 last Thursday, and Andrew Adams, who missed the ride due to injury, put a brave face on things.

"I feel slightly sorry for myself, but I am absolutely thrilled he won. I can't have any regrets because I have had a Grand National winner," Mr Stoddart said. "I feel sorry for Andrew."

Mr Adams, aged 27, plagued by injuries over the past three years, said: "I was

a bit shattered when Party

Jockeys' verdict, page 26

DIY work leaves a semi-shored up

By JENNY KNIGHT

A BUILDER'S attempt to demolish his three-bedroom semi-detached house and replace it with a five-bedroom house has ended disastrously.

Mick Maguire has been left with a pile of rubble and a lot of bad feeling in the neighbourhood after his attempt at do-it-yourself demolition brought his immediate neighbour's house to the verge of collapse. Then, Mr Maguire, aged 37, was told that planners would not approve a bigger house on the site.

The neighbour, Alan Cox, was astonished when Mr Maguire began tearing down his half of their pair of houses in Perry Barr, Birmingham, and then returned with a JCB digger to finish the job.

Mr Maguire, who is self-employed, made good progress with reducing his house to rubble, but council workmen had to shore up Mr Cox's property.

Mr Cox said: "It has been a nightmare, and we've had it up to here. On one occasion Mr Maguire ran a JCB through the house to demolish and punctured a sewage pipe... We even had a hole put in our bedroom wall which we had to have repaired under our insurance."

Paul Brown, a Birmingham city council surveyor, said that Mr Maguire, who lives in another house in the same road, had no planning permission when he began demolition.

"We were called in under dangerous-structure legislation and discovered that Mr Maguire had demolished his property, leaving the adjoining party wall standing without any safety restraint," Mr Brown said. "I don't think I've ever seen anything quite so unusual."

Mr Maguire's wife, Anne, said: "We've been upset by all this, too. They're making Mick out to be a right nutcase, but we tried to do everything by the book. We were told we didn't need planning permission. This is doing nothing for my husband's business. My husband took the house down with his hands — we only used the JCB to move the rubble."

Neighbours who organised a petition against a new house say that Mr Maguire had planned to return to Ireland and let the new house to students, but Mrs Maguire denies this.

Cuts force charity to sack half its staff

By RUTH GLEDHILL

A LEADING charity working with the poor in the North of England has been forced to dismiss nearly half of its staff because of funding cuts.

The Greater Manchester Council for Voluntary Service has lost more than £150,000 in local authority funding over the last three years, a cut of 50 per cent. Grant-funded staff have been cut from 15 to six. Two projects set up by the voluntary service council have closed this year.

The charity, which provides information and training for ethnic minorities, the elderly, the unemployed and other disadvantaged groups, has no guarantee of further funding. Judy Robinson, general secretary, said: "We will try to raise extra cash but that is difficult because everybody else is doing that."

The charity is funded by the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities, which had been planning to reduce its grant to £98,000 this year. The association recently restored £50,000 after a campaign supported by the Labour MP David Blunkett.

The organisation is one of many voluntary groups facing closure because of cuts in local authority spending, according to the National Council for Voluntary Organisations.

It is scandalous that, almost two years after the initiative was announced, not one unit has even got the go-ahead for development," Ms McKechnie said.

Two specialist housing projects, providing temporary accommodation and care, have opened under the scheme, with places for a total of 31 people. More are being set up by the St Mungo's and Community housing associations.

National library rations flow of Joycean secrets

By MATTHEW D'ANCONA

JOYCEAN scholarship enjoyed a day of mixed fortunes yesterday as the National Library of Ireland, Dublin, released a selection of James Joyce's papers after a 50-year embargo but pledged to keep some documents under wraps until December 2050.

More than 200 letters from Joyce to Paul Leon, his secretary, were made public for the first time since Leon deposited the papers with the Irish minister in Paris, shortly after the author's flight from the city in 1940. Leon was subsequently executed.

Albert Reynolds, the Irish prime minister, speaking at a ceremony attended by Joyce's grandson, Stephen, said that the papers were a "treasure house of new Joyce material and a priceless addition to our knowledge".

Of the 2,400 documents released yesterday, 240 are letters by Joyce. The new papers, largely connected with personal and business affairs, shed light on negotiations that led to the publication of *Ulysses* and *Finnegan's Wake*, their author's concern with censorship and his relationship with

his patron, Harriet Weaver. But academic speculation is more likely to focus on the papers which have been withheld from public scrutiny at the request of Joyce's family.

Catherine Fahy, a librarian at the National Library, said that there was little of literary interest in the documents unveiled yesterday. "We have embargoed the release of some papers until the year 2050 at the request of Stephen Joyce."

The embargoed letters, about a dozen in number, are believed to be of a personal nature. Stephen Joyce is

known to be sensitive about his family's privacy and in 1988 announced that he had destroyed love letters between his grandparents.

Joyce enthusiasts expecting insights into the author's relationship with Samuel Beckett, who accompanied him to Vichy when he left Paris, will be disappointed by the new papers, which suggest only that some of his associates could not master the future Nobel laureate's name. Beckett is referred to variously in the correspondence as "Mr Beckett", "Fan Beckett" and "Sean Beckett".

It is boom time for black actors in London, reports Simon Tait

director. The theatre has been in financial difficulty, but the musical's run of over a year has brought solvency and, with a new cast, it is booking now until the end of July.

"We are getting two thirds capacity over a week, which means full houses on Thursday, Friday and Saturday," Andrew Leigh, the Old Vic's administrator, said. "I believe we have found a new audience — it is immediately discernible by the

Christie's takes late delivery

By SARAH JANE CHECKLAND
SALEMOR CORRESPONDENT

A TIMEWARP of 300 years descended yesterday on Christie's Amsterdam, where a cargo of Chinese porcelain has finally been unpacked.

The 28,000 goblets, vases and teapots destined for the European market sank with their ship on what is now the Vietnamese coast and were rediscovered through the wreck snagging on the wrecks by a fishing net.

Christie's tall Amsterdam premises were bursting with blue and white painted porcelain, now valued at at least £1.5 million, bringing to mind the East India Company warehouse that should have received the consignment three centuries ago.

Christie's hopes to spark a craze in which walls and mantelpieces are enhanced with porcelain produced originally for display rather than use. Yesterday a solemn delegation of six from the communist

Vietnamese government, which spotted an enterprising means of making hard cash, mingled with the crowds.

Chiltern line tops BR efficiency table

By DOUGLAS BROOM

THE refurbished Chiltern line from Marylebone to Banbury, which until two years ago was a byword for inefficiency, has emerged top of British Rail's internal performance league.

During evening peak hours in the week ending March 20, every train on the line arrived at its destination within the five minutes of the scheduled set by the passenger's charter.

For the whole of March, 94.3 per cent of trains ran on time, significantly higher than the 88 per cent target set for it in the charter. During morning peak hours, 88.2 per cent of trains arrived on time, 95.2 per cent arrived within five minutes of scheduled time and only 1.1 per cent were cancelled.

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Chinese government, which spotted an enterprising means of making hard cash, mingled with the crowds.

Richard Fearn, director of the Thames and Chiltern division of Network SouthEast, said that the performance had been achieved in spite of the line lacking its full complement of new Network Turbo trains.

British Rail originally planned to close Marylebone and turn it into a coach park. Mr Fearn said: "We are very proud of the work that we have turned this line round in such a short time from being the pits to being the best on the network."

Lawyers attack scandal of police cells

The number of unconvicted prisoners held in police cells, which has risen by half since January, is "scandalous", a report by the Law Society says today. (Frances Gibb writes).

Kenneth Baker, the home secretary, has already described the numbers on January 30 as "unacceptable", the society says. Yet since then they had risen 50 per cent to 1,840, the highest total for more than six months and nearly double the average daily total last year.

Roger Ede, secretary of the Law Society's criminal law committee, said: "The cost of keeping prisoners in police cells in 1991 is estimated to be £85 million. This is £68 million more than it would have cost to keep them in prison, likely to rise in 1992 to more than £100 million."

The prisoners, who are on remand and therefore presumed innocent, were held in "squalid and humiliating conditions, worse than those of sentenced prisoners". Despite a call in January on the government by a joint group of police, prison, magistrates' courts and probation staff associations, lawyers and doctors, for action to end the holding of such prisoners in police cells, the situation had worsened, he said.

Rail drivers to beat pilot pay

British Rail drivers working on the Channel tunnel line are to earn up to £24,000 a year, making them better paid than some airline pilots. Eleven recruits are being trained, and another 85, with five years' experience, are being sought.

Len Muir, of European Passenger Services, set up by British Rail for the tunnel link, said: "We are offering conditions and work that will be the *crème de la crème*." Balpa, the airline union, said that the maximum pay for many turboprop pilots was £23,500 after 11 years.

Chat silenced

Chatlines face disconnection at noon today after their failure to raise £660,000 for a fund aimed at compensating telephone owners struggling with huge bills after their lines have been cut without their permission. Since the Ofcom deadline was issued a month ago, a modest contribution has been made by only one chatline company. A few chatlines have already stopped operating.

Cave rescue

An injured caver was hauled up from 150ft underground by ropes and pulleys after he fell and broke his leg. The man, in his forties and from the West Midlands, was with three others when he slipped into caves at Joyford, Gloucestershire. Two of the men climbed to the surface to raise the alarm. The injured man was detained in hospital.

Crossword finalists go through

By JOHN GRANT
CROSSWORD EDITOR

A PART-TIME school secretary from New Barnet, north London, was champion solver at the London B regional final of The Times Inter-City crossword championship at the Park Lane Hilton yesterday.

Anne Bradford, aged 61, compiler of the *Longman Crossword Solvers Dictionary*, completed the four puzzles in an average of 12 minutes each. Only three of the 272 competitors completed all four puzzles correctly.

Peter Biddlecombe, aged 31, a computer programmer from Palmers Green, north London, and Derek Jervis, aged 65, a teacher from Barnet, came second and third. Brian Sylvester, aged 59, a stamp dealer from Maidenhead, Berkshire, and Roy Dean, aged 65, a writer and broadcaster from Bromley, southeast London, also qualified.

Five qualifiers at the London B regional final on Saturday join them at the national final at the Hilton on July 26: winner Neil McHale, aged 35, from High Wycombe, Buckinghamshire; David Clarke, aged 41, from Isleworth, west London; David Burn, aged 35, from Putney, southwest London; Alastair Bruce, aged 44, from Barnes, southwest London and Alan Mills, aged 40, from Putney.

Crossword, page 20

ST. JOSEPH'S HOSPICE

MARE ST. LONDON E8 4SA.
(Charity Reg. No. 23123)

An Easter Message

During the long winter the comfort you gave our gravely ill patients was unforgettable. We warmly wish you a happy and hopeful Easter.

As the pulse of another spring quickens to echo the Resurrection, we warmly wish you a happy and hopeful Easter.

Sister Superior.



Lawyers
attack
scandal of
police cells

Driver ignored the warning lights and swerved round safety barrier, witnesses say

Three killed as train hits car on crossing

BY RAY CLANCY

TWO sisters and a man died when their car was hit by a train on an unmanned level crossing at the weekend. Two others were seriously injured.

Witnesses said the driver apparently ignored red warning lights and swerved round a lowered half-barrier. The dead were Marie Garbutt, aged 26, her sister Louise, aged 21, and Neville Swales, aged 27.

The women's brother Peter Garbutt, aged 26, and Trevor Turner, aged 22, were seriously injured when the car in which the five were travelling was hit by a train at Moorside, near Doncaster, South Yorkshire, on Saturday. The two injured men

were last night in a stable condition in the intensive care unit of Doncaster Royal Infirmary. All five were from Moorside and had known each other since childhood.

Their car, a Ford Capri, was hit by the 11.46 Goole to Doncaster train and shunted 60 metres down the line, rolling over several times. Those who died were all thrown from the vehicle. The survivors were trapped in the wreckage and cut free by fire-fighters.

Olive Davis, a resident of the village who saw the accident, said that double barriers would have prevented it happening. "We saw the train was coming when the car appeared and swerved around the barrier, which was down," she said. "I have seen other drivers go round the barriers in the past."

An examination of the crossing showed that the barriers, warning signals and lights had been working normally. There has been a history of people using the gaps in the barriers, left to prevent anyone being trapped across the railway tracks, to zig-zag over the crossing in spite of warning lights.

British Rail inspectors are investigating the accident, the fifth this year at unnamed level crossings. Concern was voiced over half-barriers last month when a father and his son, aged four, were killed and five members of their family injured when their van was hit by a train at Furbourn, Cambridgeshire.

British Rail is convinced that half-barrier unmanned level crossings are safe. "These sort of barriers are much safer than the old style manned barriers because there is no chance of human error. Obviously we are relying on people's good sense to use the barriers properly," a spokesman said. British Rail installs barriers according to criteria

laid down by the transport department.

A survey of the number of trains using a particular line, their speed and frequency is carried out. The number of vehicles using a crossing is also examined. If British Rail inspectors voice concern about safety, a review is undertaken.

A Whitehall source said: "The number of accidents is causing concern. It may be the number of trains using a line has increased or the amount of road vehicles using a crossing has risen. That could lead to a change in the type of crossing at a particular location. In general terms there is pressure for half barriers to be replaced with double ones in areas where use has increased."

Half barriers are more common than more expensive double barriers. Generally double barriers are found where busy roads cross fast sections of track and in towns and cities.

Pressure for double barriers to be increased could be resisted on safety grounds. British Rail is looking at France, where SNCF, the national rail concern, is considering replacing double barriers with half barriers because of the increasing number of accidents where vehicles cross through one side of a double barrier but find the opposite side is down. They cannot reverse because the barrier behind has also come down leaving the vehicle trapped.

The transport department said it would wait for the result of the BR enquiry into the latest accident before making any decision whether to review the criteria. The most recent figures show that in 1990 23 people died and 23 were injured in 69 level crossing accidents. In most cases trains are not derailed and passengers are not hurt.



Crash wreckage: the car, top, which was shunted 60 metres down the track after being hit by a Goole to Doncaster InterCity train, bottom

Rail drivers
beat pilot pa

Chat silence

Cave rescue

ops
able

Crossword
finalists
go through

Veteran tenor bridges the generation gap 30 years on



THE legendary Irish tenor Josef Locke, whose velvet voice and eye for the ladies made him the Tom Jones of post-war Britain, has become the oldest singer to break into the Top Ten at the age of 75.

Today Mr Locke, whose compilation of old 78s was recorded for EMI in the decade from 1947, will celebrate his entry in the best-selling album charts with his usual three pints of Guinness in a corner of a smoky pub in the wilds of Co Kildare.

At his home in the village of Clane yesterday he said: "It's unbelievable, that's the only way I can describe it. I'm flabbergasted. At my age! Even Frank Sinatra would be pleased with

A post-war Irish tenor is challenging the giants of pop, reports Michael Horsnell

that, wouldn't he?" The CD and cassette album *Hear My Song — The Best of Josef Locke*, featuring *I'll Take You Home Again Kathleen*, *Count Your Blessings* and *Hear My Song Violetta* is proving to be unexpected competition for the likes of Bruce Springsteen, Simply Red, Madness and Wet Wet Wet.

Mr Locke, who says he will not be tempted out of retirement by the offer of lucrative concerts at Carnegie Hall, New York, and the Festival Hall, London, is nevertheless planning to record a new single and make the occasional appearance. His re-emergence into the limelight follows the release of the film about his life *Hear My Song* starring Ned Beatty, in the United States, where it was praised by Madonna, and in London.

Mr Locke was feted last month at the British premiere where he sang *Danny Boy* before the Princess of Wales, the song he performed at a Royal Command Performance in 1952, before he was whisked away by Michael Aspel to appear in *This Is Your Life*. Devotees of the former Irish Guardsman, who was earning

£2,000 a week in his heyday before fleeing home to Ireland from the taxman after a demand for £17,000 in 1958, say his voice is as strong as ever.

Mr Locke said that he sat at the piano half-an-hour a day. "Maybe the top mezzo voice notes may not be quite what they were but everything else is working well and I still love singing. But success doesn't tempt me to come out of retirement. I don't like living out of a suitcase."

Mr Locke is to be presented with a silver disc for selling 60,000 copies of *Hear My Song*. EMI is to release two of his songs on 78 rpm, believed to be the first 12in record of its kind produced in over 30 years.

BA pushes for better customer service

BY KERRY GILL

TWO English climbers are the only sensible thing after falling 500ft down a mountain in the Cairngorms: they nipped along to the nearest telephone box and told the police.

Richard Hartshorn and Trevor Cousins suffered no more than minor cuts and bruises and some dizziness after they fell off a ridge on The Runnel, an ice-climbing peak on Cairn Gorm, into an embankment covered in soft snow. After picking themselves up, they set off to raise the alarm at a ski car park about two miles away, and 700ft below. They were helped by other climbers who came across them on their way to the telephone box.

Sergeant John Grierson, of Aviemore police, recalled a similar case last year when a climber fell several hundred feet in the same area and survived. "It must be a very lucky spot," he said.

Mr Hartshorn, aged 30, of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Mr Cousins, aged 27, of Sherburn, Co Durham, were picked up by a helicopter scrambled from RAF Lossiemouth. They were taken to the Aviemore medical centre where they were found to have no serious injury. They spent the night camping before making their way home yesterday.

Sergeant Grierson, who met them at the ski centre, said: "They were in good spirits and knew they had had a lucky escape. I would say they are extremely fortunate to be alive. If you fell 5ft in that area, you would be lucky to come away with the injuries they did."

□ Two men missing on Ben Nevis were rescued yesterday after climbers with a portable telephone reported their location to police. The missing men, both English, had been trapped on the Hadrian's Wall rockface, which leads to the summit, for almost 24 hours. They were uninjured.

Girl injured

A girl aged nine suffered multiple head injuries when she was hit by a wheel that flew off a stock-car at a race meeting at Wisbech stadium in Cambridgeshire. The wheel bounced over the crash barriers before striking Charlene Kingston, who lives in the nearby village of Coates. Last night she was in a stable but critical condition in hospital at King's Lynn, Norfolk.

Howard rallies

Frankie Howard is continuing to improve in spite of having "severe impairment of the functioning of the heart", according to the Harley Street Clinic, London, where the comedian, aged 70, is being treated. Peter Goddard, the clinic's director of operations, said yesterday: "He is sitting up in bed and joking... enjoying the hundreds of messages he has received from well-wishers."

Police blamed

Edward Daly, the Bishop of Londonderry, said at the funeral of a Catholic man killed by loyalist gunmen in Northern Ireland that police harassment had been a factor in the murder. Dr Daly said that there was clear evidence that Danny Cassidy, aged 42, had suffered "constant, cruel and public harassment and humiliation from some units of the police" and this had put his life in danger.

Joyriding case

Four youths aged 17 to 22 will appear at Steyning magistrates court in West Sussex on May 6 in the first case under the Aggravated Vehicle Taking Act 1992, introduced in response to concern over joyriding.

Jilly Cooper's Word Processor?

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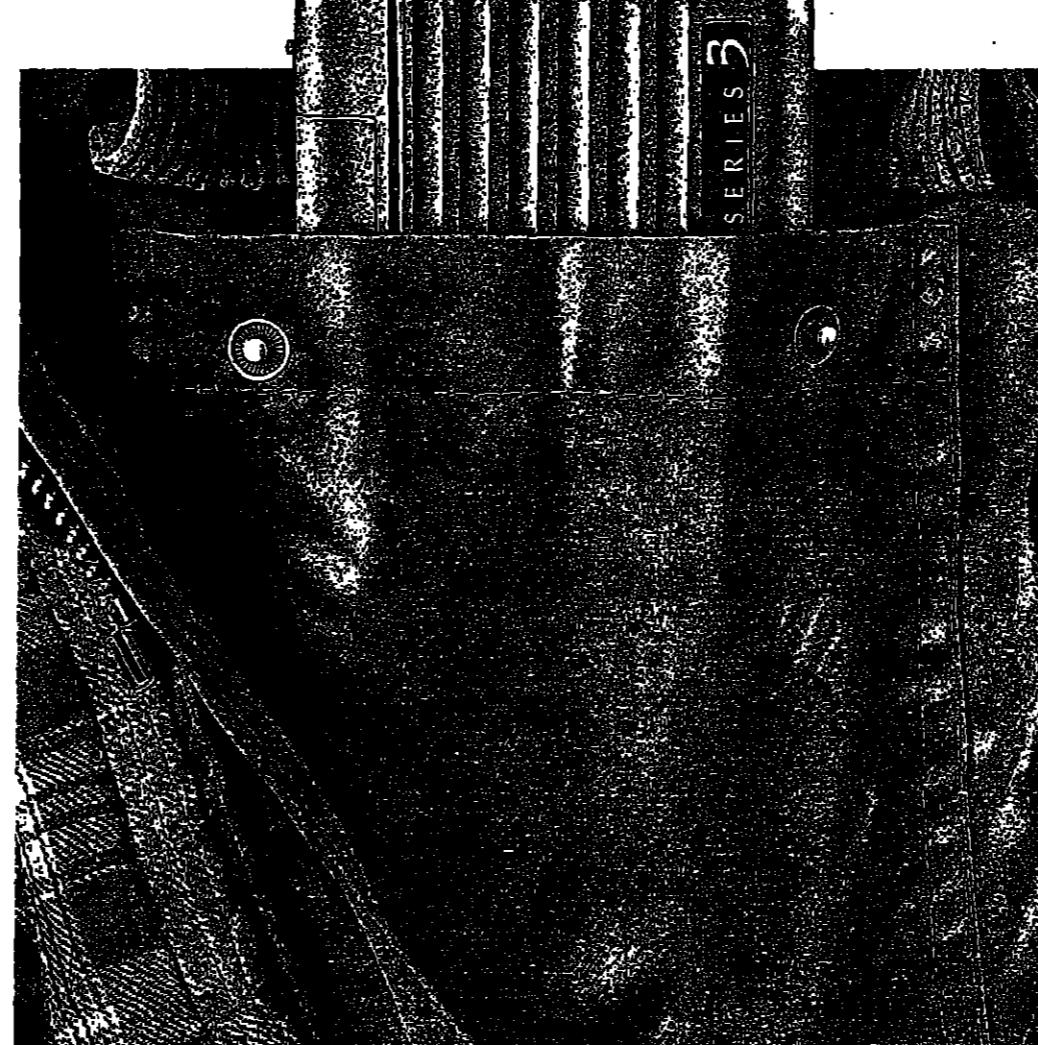
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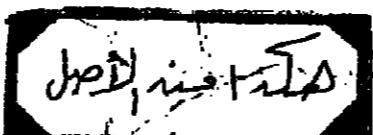
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Debt-ridden students borrow more as jobs vanish

BY MATTHEW D'ANCONA, EDUCATION REPORTER

STUDENTS are being forced to take out loans by the pressure of personal debt and the scarcity of holiday work, according to a survey published today by the National Union of Students.

The loan system was introduced to offset the impact of inflation, the withdrawal of benefits from students, and the freezing of the grant in 1990. The report suggests that many students are taking up loans as a panic measure to stave off debt.

Of those who intended to take out a loan last October, a third reported debts of more than £500 and 15 per cent owed more than £1,000. Only 18 per cent of those without debts planned to make use of the loan system. However, 86 per cent of those who owed between £500 and £1,000 said that they would need a loan. The maximum available last year was £660 in London and £580 elsewhere, and increased by 25 per cent last month.

Stephen Twigg, president of the union, said: "This shows once and for all that student loans are not increasing in popularity. The increased uptake is purely the result of desperation on the part of students who have less and less to live on. They need a grant that increases in line with the cost of living."

Sixty-two per cent of the

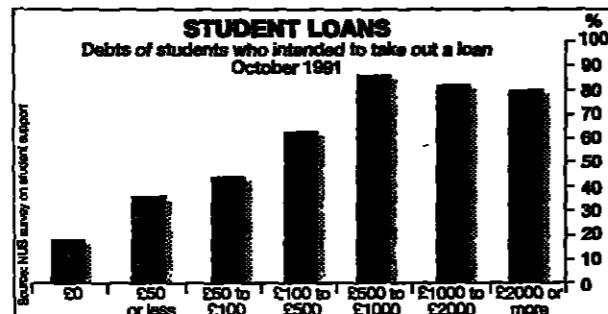
2,300 students replying to the survey were in debt by the end of the academic year 1990-1. Twenty-seven per cent had debts of more than £500, while 11 per cent owed more than £1,000.

The level of debt among students dropped only marginally over the summer, reflecting the decline in readily available holiday work, the report says. More than a third were unemployed last summer and, in some areas, such as Scotland, Wales and the West Midlands, the proportion of students finding work was 3 per cent or less.

Those who found jobs were paid an average of £3.63 an hour, or £90 a week, for nine weeks during the 14-week vacation. Thirty-six per cent of respondents said that they had worked during term time, an increase of 12 per cent since 1989-90.

The survey is likely to fuel debate about the level of financial support available to students. Angela Crum Ewing, president of the Association of University Teachers, said that the new findings were shocking. "Students have never had a cushy time, but now they face hardship on an appalling scale. Study should be the priority, not a struggle for survival."

Education Times
LET section, page 7



MI5 vies with police for anti-IRA operations

A HOME Office report on the future of intelligence gathering against terrorism goes to Downing Street on Thursday amid speculation in the intelligence community that MI5 could take over the work of the police.

The report has been drawn up by the civil servant heading the Home Office's police department, which encompasses the security service and the police. The report follows nearly four months of negotiations and lobbying.

Scotland Yard has been supported by chief constables while MI5 is thought to have the tacit support of the Ministry of Defence. Stella Rimington, the new director

much of which is concerned with the IRA. The Yard's special branch was set up over a hundred years ago to combat the Fenians.

For its part, the security service has been trying to find new roles for its manpower since the collapse of the communist bloc. Like many intelligence services around the world, its officers are turning towards areas such as terrorism or, one day perhaps, drugs trafficking.

Scotland Yard has been supported by chief constables while MI5 is thought to have the tacit support of the Ministry of Defence. Stella Rimington, the new director

Who should control the anti-terrorist fight? The Home Office may propose changes, reports Stewart Tendler

general of MI5, could also lobby within Downing Street and the Cabinet Office because her service reports directly to the prime minister.

If MI5 wins the argument, its London offices would become the clearing house for anti-terrorist intelligence, making use of the service's skills of threat assessment and strategy developed in the

past 70 years against the Nazis and the Eastern bloc. MI5 has considerable expertise in running double agents and penetrating enemy organisations. The change will be tempting to politicians who feel that new measures are needed to fight a reorganised IRA, which has run a successful mainland campaign for three years.

The police argue that MI5 is publicly unaccountable and does not understand the demands of courts for background evidence. Officers say courts are increasingly supporting defence arguments for the disclosure of evidence, which could include electronic surveillance and intelligence material.

MI5 does now have a role in Ulster but the RUC and the army do most of the intelligence gathering.

The possibility of giving the task to MI5 has been promoted by the argument that the fight against the IRA should be more co-ordinated by a central authority rather than one police force.

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negligencereport on reforming the
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Chairwoman of the
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experts
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politicians.Mr Kinnock's speech set
the tone for this week's cam-
paigning, which will concentrate
on Labour's plans to take Britain into recovery and
to invest in the health service.

Labour will appeal to floating

voters and those who are now

turning to the Liberal Democ-
rats. They will emphasise

that a hung parliament will

only extend uncertainty and

the recession.

Mr Kinnock contrasted

Labour's approach with the

Tory "only we know best"

style of government. People

had a straight choice: to vote

for the same or to vote for a

change.

Speaking at a London re-

ception, which was much

more sober than the presiden-

tial extravaganza at Sheffiel-

d Arena, Mr Kinnock said:

"We will serve all the people.

And we'll do it because we

believe it is our primary duty to

help the people to raise them-

selves, in the words of Archi-

bishop Temple, 'to what they

might become'."

"It is not patronising or

paternalistic," he said. "There

is nothing of the nanny state

about it. There is everything of

the democratic government

about it."

A Labour government

would invest in people to ex-

tend their freedom to learn,

to train, to choose and to make

more of a success of their

lives. Mr Kinnock said. That

would be done through

the

This Thursday, you can vote to unseat him



According to a recent survey,
*80% of the people of Britain are
against hunting with hounds.

A fact not reflected in every
party's official line.

Labour would allow a free vote
on a proposal to ban hunting and
would provide parliamentary time
for the necessary legislation.

The Liberal Democrats say that
they are opposed to hunting but that
legislation is a matter of conscience
for each individual MP.

And Conservative Party policy
is to take no action, believing it a
matter of individual choice whether
to hunt or not.

In practice, of course, not all
candidates toe the party line.

The only way to make sure
you're not left with blood on your
hands this Thursday is to quiz
your particular candidate.

And vote accordingly.

If you're against hunting, vote against hunting.



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*Gallup for League Against Cruel Sports, November 1991

Jed, in TJA

It is the Tories' turn after all, says Ashdown

Party leaders deride Owen's latest switch

BY SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

PADDY Ashdown and Neil Kinnock were united yesterday in their condemnation of David Owen's latest political conversion. Dr Owen, a former Labour cabinet minister and co-founder of the Social Democratic party, urged voters in marginal seats to vote Tory while disclosing that he would personally vote Liberal Democrat.

Paddy Ashdown said: "It is only fair to the other parties. It is the Tories' turn after all..." When questioned about talks between Labour and the Liberal Democrats, Mr Kinnock said that Mr

Ashdown's comment "on David Owen's carryings-on was probably the most brilliant of all that had been offered about somebody who switches parties. I think Paddy deserves ten out of ten."

After months of wavering, Dr Owen urged voters in 90 marginal seats, which will largely determine the outcome on Thursday, to vote Tory. He intends to vote Liberal Democrat in Bow and Poplar, a London marginal where the Liberal Democrats hope to oust the Labour candidate Mildred Gordon, who beat the Alliance into second

place in 1987 by 4,631 votes. Labour sources indicated that Dr Owen had "made approaches" through intermediaries over the years. Mr Kinnock is understood to have made clear that he was not interested in horse-trading and would be interested in an endorsement for Labour only if it came directly from Dr Owen.

Dr Owen, justifying his endorsement of Mr Major, said: "John Major is a far better prime minister than ever Neil Kinnock could be. We all change our minds from time to time, but these wholesale policy conversions make me shudder."

As a long-standing campaigner for constitutional reform, he also appealed to a minority Tory government not to shut the door on talks with the Liberal Democrats for a coalition government.

An ICM poll in the *Sunday Express* found that 7 per cent of voters, including some Liberal Democrats, would be more likely to vote Conservative after Dr Owen's endorsement. However, his remarks will not bring much joy to the two remaining independent SDP MPs fighting to retain their seats, Rosie Barnes and John Cartwright.

It was a sign of the increasingly anxious mood within the Major camp that the party chairman Chris Patten and his advisers leapt on Dr Owen's qualified support for Mr Major, claiming that it would help significantly in the party's struggle to secure wavering voters.

As a former cabinet minister, Dr Owen is likely to be offered a seat in the Lords.

date saw himself as the natural beneficiary of the advice offered to voters in vital marginals.

"I see this as a clear steer to them to back me on Thursday. If Labour start knocking him now, they'll only succeed in alienating those who might have supported them but still have personal affection and respect for Dr Owen."

All three candidates claim the advantage

BY BILL FROST

DAVID Owen's ambiguous intervention yesterday had candidates for the three main parties in his old constituency all claiming the advantage.

Murdoch MacTaggart, the Liberal Democrat in Plymouth Devonport, said callers to his campaign headquarters believed Dr Owen had nailed his colours to the party's mast. "As far as Devonport is concerned, where it's a two-horse race between us and Labour, the message they picked up was 'vote Liberal Democrat'."

Mr MacTaggart said he might seek Dr Owen's personal support: "I think I might well ask him to come down to Devonport this week, address a Liberal Democrat meeting and give me his endorsement."

David Jamieson, the Labour candidate, was also celebrating. "Dr Owen's intervention is marvellous news for us. That man is the kiss of death for any party unlucky enough to attract his support."

But there was jubilation in the Tory camp too. Keith Simpson, the party's candi-

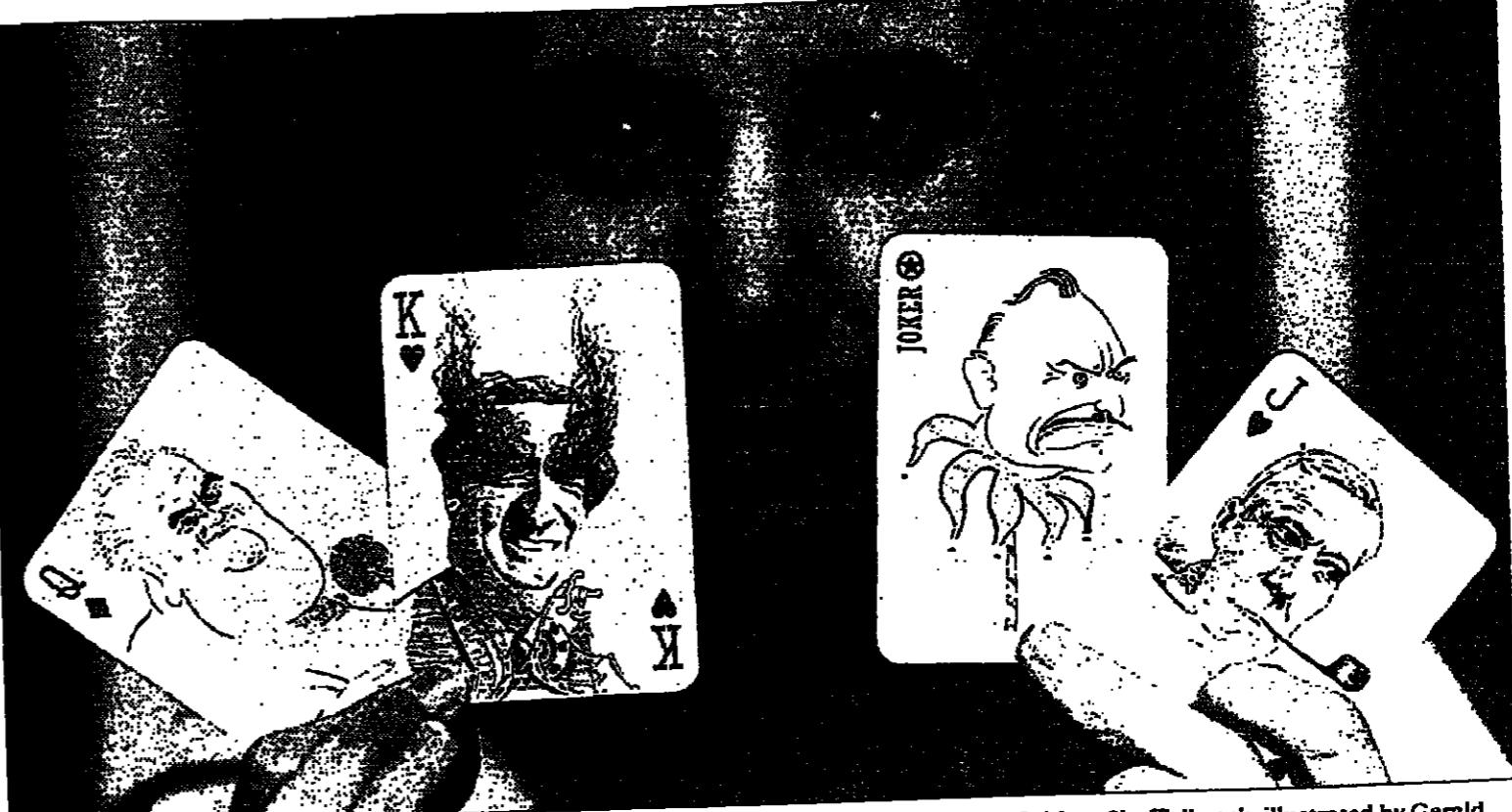


Owen: likely to be offered seat in Lords

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"I see this as a clear steer to them to back me on Thursday. If Labour start knocking him now, they'll only succeed in alienating those who might have supported them but still have personal affection and respect for Dr Owen."

Leading article and letters, page 17



Political deal: Jacqueline Barber, of the Victoria and Albert museum, with cards from the "Cabinet Shuffle" pack, illustrated by Gerald Scarfe, John Springs, the late Mark Boxer and Wally Fawkes in 1983. The pack is part of the museum's display of electioneering art

Ashdown wins the posture doctor's approval

Stress experts say the party leaders should slow down and straighten up, writes Victoria McKee

WHEN Neil Kinnock was asked last week whether he considered himself fit for the job of prime minister, he retorted that the only problem with his fitness was a slight cough. But one of Britain's leading experts on body language vehemently disagrees.

"However much he has been posturing about behaving like a leader he doesn't have a leader's posture," says Dr Michael Durnall, a leading chiropractor who has manipulated celebrities such as Sir Ian McKellen, Susan Sarandon and Helena Bonham-Carter at his London clinics. He has been observing the political protagonists' physical leanings to decide whether they have the body language of leaders.

"Mr Kinnock is very chunky and clumsy, with poor muscle tone, and his body language shows that he is mega-aggressive. He has a way of jabbing his fingers at people which is very unpleasant but has obviously been told to keep them clasped during the campaign in order to pretend to be calm. His

body language shows that in the back of his mind he's not sure he's up for the job. I'd rate him only two out of ten."

It is a sad judgment against the leader of the only party which has promised to make chiropractic available on the NHS. But Dr Durnall also has doubts about the fitness of Mr Major. The prime minister expresses leaning he may not intend due to injuries from a car accident in the 1960s, which left one leg shorter than the other and causes him pain in the lower back.

Dr Durnall advises him to sit with a book under one buttock when he's not on his soapbox. "He would be an ideal candidate for chiropractic treatment," says Dr Durnall, who rates the incumbent at five out of ten on his "fitness to govern" scale because

of his slim physique. "He also leans his head too far forward which strangulates his voice. That is possibly because he is naturally retiring and is trying too hard to be assertive. If you were mentally to cut off his head it would fall to the ground without touching his body."

The doctor says Paddy Ashdown's "posture shows that he is a natural leader with excellent fitness and the ability to carry himself well. I'd rate him nine out of ten. But he loses a point because of the shifty way he sometimes touches his nose."

A second expert believes he has a pill for most of the ills of the present campaign. Dr Malcolm Carruthers of Harley Street, a pioneer of hormone replacement therapy for men, is already administering testosterone, by tablets or an implant in the buttock, to two MPs and three members of the House of Lords.

The reputedly aggressive male hormone would actually make MPs less aggressive but give them more positive drive. Dr Carruthers contends.

Testosterone is a success hormone, and tests have shown that those who win have much higher levels of it than losers," he says. "Men's ability to think logically and respond to pressure without testosterone should increase on testosterone.

The symptoms of the male menopause, which I call the 'viropause', are aggression and irritability — which Neil Kinnock has shown signs of for some time. These symptoms

may be exaggerated after a vasectomy, which Mr Kinnock has had, and it's undoubtedly tougher for someone who's been burning themselves out in Opposition without the aphrodisiac of power which causes a surge of testosterone.

"Women MPs such as Theresa Gorman make no secret of the fact that they have been taking HRT, and I would be surprised if Margaret Thatcher didn't, so I don't think it could be regarded as unfair competition," he says.

"And while I don't think Paddy Ashdown needs it, it might make John Major a touch less 'grey'."

Professor Cary Cooper, a stress experts says that "With PMS as with PMS (pre-menstrual syndrome), small issues are blown up out of all proportion, people lose their sense of humour and every little thing becomes a problem. The whole Jennifer Bennett incident can be seen as a metaphor of the stress both parties are feeling," he says. "They are attacking each other instead of the issues!"

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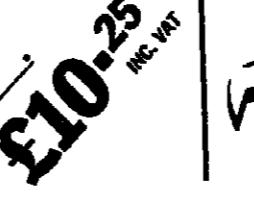
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MALGO

Washington wakes up to the prospect of a Britain governed by Labour



Bush: respect for John Major "knows no bounds"

Suddenly the general election has caught Washington's attention. It has abruptly registered that after 12 years of working with ideological soulmates in Downing Street, the administration could within days be dealing with a Labour government. It is a prospect causing intense interest and some apprehension.

Government departments are hurrying to ascertain Labour's positions on a range of issues. Having taken Britain's support for granted during crises such as the bombing of Libya, the Panama invasion and Operation Desert Storm, officials are seeking reassurance that Labour would

After 12 years of working with the Tories, America is preparing for a possible change at Westminster, Martin Fletcher writes

continue the Tories' tough line against, for example, Libyan terrorism, Iraqi recalcitrance or "fortress Europe" protectionism. A broader concern as President Bush faces re-election in November is that political trends in Britain tend to foreshadow those in America. As Britain swings to the right or left, so generally does America. A specific question is whether Labour would replace Sir Robin Renwick, Britain's energetic ambassador, with a political appointment.

Labour has ditched the nuclear unilateralism to which the Reagan administration objected so strongly in 1987 and embraced both Nato and Europe. "Kinnock's current programme doesn't present a whole lot of difficulties with our bilateral relationship," one administration official said. "The great unknown is will there be a community of

instincts? Will Kinnock immediately come to the same conclusions as this administration? ... There is a lot of appreciation of how valuable working with the UK has been and we very much hope that whatever the outcome that relationship will continue."

Another source said that inevitably there would be a loss of intimacy. "These guys have got used to picking up the phone and talking to people they know and like and trust." They had been able to count on British support absolutely, but now there would be "a whole new bunch of people and they will have to think twice — will the Brits be with us?" On

his last trip to America, in July 1990, Neil Kinnock laid the ghost of his disastrous White House encounter of 1987 and impressed senior officials as reasonable, well briefed and accommodating, if a little verbose.

He naturally still generates more enthusiasm on Democrat-controlled Capitol Hill than in the Republican White House, while Gerald Kaufman, the putative foreign secretary, remains an almost completely unknown quantity. He is said to have abandoned plans to visit Washington because he could not see James Baker, Secretary of State. The

State Department is also studying the ramifications of another Tory win. Officials realise that John Major would for the first time have his own mandate and could "shed all remaining Thatcherisms". They are also aware that a very slim Tory majority could limit his room for manoeuvre on contentious issues of interest to America.

Mr Bush, none the less, made his views abundantly clear on the day the election was announced. He did not want to interfere in British politics, he said, but Mr Major was a "superb leader" and his respect for the prime minister "knows no bounds".

Last broadcasts hold key

Late deciders offer the Tories little comfort

By IVOR CREWE

WITH the weekend's poll of 2.5 points putting Labour 2.5 points ahead, the Conservatives need a swing of at least 3 per cent to retain their overall majority. They are pinning their hopes of a late spurt on the apparently large number of remaining "don't knows".

They may be right to believe that the "undecideds" are more numerous than usual: the Mori/Sunday Times panel survey has consistently found a larger proportion of undecideds and wavers than at the equivalent stages of the 1983 and 1987 campaigns. But yesterday's headlines suggesting that as many as one in four (the NOP/Mail on Sunday) or even one in three (the Harris/Observer poll) remain "don't knows" are almost certainly wide of the mark. Closer inspection of the NOP poll shows that, among the 24 per cent who have not "definitely decided", only 5 per cent said there was a "good chance of changing".

According to past BBC/Gallup election-day surveys, the proportion making up their mind only in the last

few days of the campaign has varied between 5 per cent (1987) and 12 per cent (1979). This time the figure will probably be at the higher end of the range. Even so, the Tories would need to take almost all of the late deciders to keep their majority. If 10 per cent have still to decide, they would need to split something like Tory 70, Labour 10, Lib Dem 20.

Present evidence of the Conservatives' capacity to attract the don't knows is disconcerting. The two panel surveys of this campaign — Mori's for *The Sunday Times* and NOP's for *The Independent on Sunday* — both show that voters who began the campaign as don't knows are heading for a hung parliament, and that will mean a situation we have experienced rarely in Britain and not at all since 1974.

What happened last time?

In the February 1974 general election, Harold Wilson's Labour party won 301 seats to the 297 of Edward Heath's Conservatives. It was not clear until the last Scottish results came in on Saturday that Labour had not won an overall majority. On the 1974 result, the Tories had 38.2 per cent of the vote to Labour's 37.2. Mr Heath stayed on in Downing Street until the Monday after the election trying to do a deal with Jeremy Thorpe, the Liberal leader, whom he offered one cabinet place and a Speaker's conference on electoral reform.

Mr Thorpe was tempted, but it became clear that his party had no wish to prop up a defeated Tory government and his 14 MPs voted against the idea. Mr Heath resigned and Mr Wilson, as leader of the next largest party, was invited by the Queen to form a minority government. Tory allies in the past have indicated that they might offer support to a minority government.

Mr Major has said he will do no deals and has emphatically rejected PR, the price of any deal with Paddy Ashdown and the Liberal Democrats. But the Ulster Unionists, Tory allies in the past, have indicated that they might offer support to a minority government.

What would happen if Labour was the biggest party?

If Labour was the largest single party, Neil Kinnock would be invited by the Queen to seek to form a government as soon as Mr Major resigned. He too has denied that he would contemplate a deal, saying that he has not even struck the opening chords, let alone made overtures to the Liberal Democrats.

It is even more likely to help the Liberal Democrats. In the past three elections late deciders have been roughly twice as likely as the rest of the electorate to vote for the centre — about half voted for the Alliance in 1983 and 1987.

The motives are partly tactical, partly protest: many late deciders are equally indifferent to or indignant with the two main parties and see the centre as a halfway house. Whatever the reason, the centre vote has risen by two to three points in the final week of the past three elections.

According to the BBC/Gallup surveys, what had by far the most influence on the late deciders were the parties' final election broadcasts. John Major's will need to be of Churchillian dimensions to turn the election round.

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Leading article
and letters, page 17
Economic View, page 22
L&T section, page 5

HOW LATE DECIDERS VOTED, 1979-87

Percentage of late deciders in last few days of the campaign

	1979	1983	1987
C	35%	22%	20%
Lab	30%	22%	21%
Lib Dem	29%	53%	47%
Others	4%	2%	5%
All votes	12%	8%	5%

Source: BBC/Gallup surveys

Sinn Fein support still sliding

By EDWARD GORMAN
IRELAND CORRESPONDENT

THE first opinion poll conducted in Northern Ireland this year shows significant support emerging for the newly organised Conservative party. A rating of 9 per cent makes it the fourth largest political force in the province.

The survey by Mori, carried out for *The Sunday Times* last week, also found overwhelming support among Protestant and Unionist voters for a deal with a minority Conservative government in a hung parliament. It shows too, that there is a real possibility that Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, may lose his seat in West Belfast to the moderate SDLP, which is benefiting from a 3 per cent swing in the Belfast area.

The Conservatives share of the vote places it two points ahead of Sinn Fein (7 per cent) and just behind the Alliance (10 per cent), both of which trail the two Unionist parties (UUP 32 per cent, DUP 15 per cent) and the SDLP (20 per cent). Although it does not look as though the Tories will return an MP — their best chance is in the North Down constituency where the sitting MP is Jim Kilfeder — they look set to make an important impact in their first general election since organising in Northern Ireland two years ago.

The 7 per cent rating for Sinn Fein, if reflected on Thursday, will be another serious setback. The party has declined steadily since the 1983 election, when it scored 13.4 per cent; in 1987 its vote fell to 11.4 per cent. Another fall will further undercut its already limited support and must reflect the success of the government-led marginalisation of the party while it continues its support for IRA violence.

Late move to Labour fails to halt a loyal tide

NEIL KINNOCK won two new supporters in Fleet Street yesterday as the nine main Sunday papers made their vote. A majority endorsed the Tories, with five voting Tory against the four which opted for Labour. If Fleet Street had its way, there would be no hung parliament. Judged by sales, the Sunday papers delivered a majority for John Major over Neil Kinnock of ten million to 5.8 million.

That, however, assumes that readers vote as their papers tell them, which is only partly true. *The News of the World* enthusiastically backed John Major — but 47 per cent of its readers plan to vote Labour, according to Mori, against 33 per cent who will vote Tory, which suggests that they are more interested in sex and sin than politics. (Among Sun readers, for the record, the split is 41 per cent Tory to 40 per cent Labour).

An endorsement was more difficult for *The Independent on Sunday*. At the last election, *The Independent* upheld its independence by refusing to endorse any party. As a variant on that policy, it intends this week to make the positive case for each party, ending with the Liberal Democrats. Yesterday, however, Ian Jack, executive editor of *The iS*, explained in a signed leading article why he could

not vote Tory. Margaret Thatcher's regime had grown corrupt and arrogant and made too many mistakes, he said. "Today we suffer the results, ungrated by the choice in 1987 that it appeared to want a coalition of all three parties, which jumped off the fence and plumped for Labour. So will most of its readers, according to Mori: 48 per cent intend to vote Labour and 28 per cent Liberal Democrat.

The main scoop yesterday was the declaration by David Owen in *The Mail on Sunday* that voters in marginal seats should help to keep Mr Major as prime minister. Its timing was agreed before the election started between Dr Owen and Stewart Steven, the editor, for maximum impact. That mutual pact certainly succeeded. *The Mail on Sunday*'s main

rival, the *Sunday Express*, also led on the story, albeit without acknowledging its provenance, and it was reported in four other papers — though in none of the three Labour papers.

Yet as the nation awaits the verdict of Fleet Street before deciding how to vote — and only if you believe that you can really write convincing leading articles — the question arises whether what the papers say really matters. An unusually frank admission was made by Mr Jack, who pointed out that for all their Olympic thunder leading articles are written by men and women with mortgages and children and trains to catch just like you and me. Quite a few still have chauffeurs, however.

Only four papers have still to declare their position — the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, the *Daily Star* and *Today*.

Cook sets health target

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

LABOUR will act in its first month to support a European Community ban on tobacco advertising and establish a special cabinet committee on health promotion, Robin Cook, the shadow health secretary, pledged yesterday.

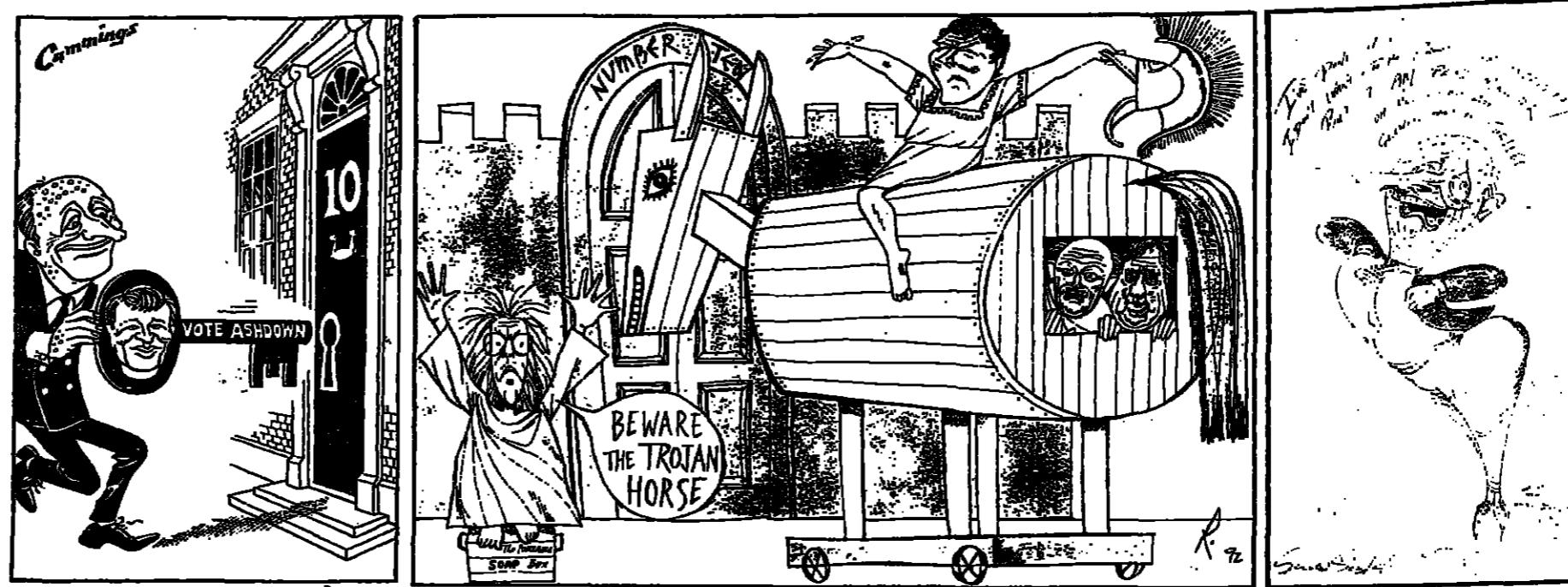
The party started the campaign final week by returning to its strongest single issue and effectively relaunched its health manifesto by setting out its "checklist" for its first four months in office. In the first month it would half work on hospital opt-outs and set a timetable for integrating the first wave into community health authorities.

Mr Cook accused the government of having killed a white paper on health promotion because of campaign support from Imperial Tobacco, and said Labour had

learnt that Imperial Tobacco had given 2,000 advertising sites to the Conservatives. "There is no longer any mystery as to why the Cabinet committee chaired by Chris Patten killed off a White Paper on health promotion which has broad public support. He sold the White Paper for a list of poster sites."

Mr Cook later accused Mr Patten of a "straightforward fabrication". He denied he had been chairman of any cabinet committee dealing with health, health promotion or the health White Paper. "The scandal about party political advertising is that the trade unions are queuing up to spend money on behalf of the Labour party in return for favours, if, heaven forbid, Labour were ever to

How weekend cartoonists see prospects for a hung poll



Cartoonists' eye view: Cummings in the *Sunday Express* yesterday (left), Rushton in *The Sunday Telegraph* and Scarfe in *The Sunday Times* offer their comments

Political fixers gear up for a hung House

Robin Oakley considers the options for the party leaders if Thursday's general election fails to give a decisive majority to Labour or the Tories

Office as leader of a minority government, putting together packages of support from minority parties for individual measures. He could seek an informal pact, as Labour had with the Liberals for part of the 1974-9 Parliament, giving a minority party the right to be consulted in advance on policy decisions but without their enjoying ministerial posts. Or he could establish a formal coalition, taking MPs of another party or parties into his government.

Mr Major has said he will do no deals and has emphatically rejected PR, the price of any deal with Paddy Ashdown and the Liberal Democrats. But the Ulster Unionists, Tory allies in the past, have indicated that they might offer support to a minority government.

How soon will we get another election?

Harold Wilson's minority Labour government lasted only from February to October in 1974. Any government coming in this month would hope to avoid an October election, partly because Britain will hold the presidency of the European Community from July 1 to December 31 and partly because the uncertainty caused by a hung parliament would upset the markets and in all probability delay the long-awaited economic recovery. No minority government would really want to face the electors if it

could avoid doing so until some signs of that recovery were evident.

Where do the Liberal Democrats come in?

As mentioned above, the Liberal Democrats are insisting on commitment to PR at Westminster and devotion to Scotland and Wales, two conditions that would make it impossible for Mr Major to deal with them: he has been emphatic in ruling both out. But Mr Ashdown has also said he disagrees with Labour on every point of economic policy and that his party would vote down a Labour finance bill implementing the tax package outlined in John Smith's shadow budget.

He wants a coalition for a full parliamentary term, to give his party experience in government, and will not settle for another Lib-Lab pact. But Labour believes that Scottish Liberal Democrats in particular would press their leader for a deal on easier terms, to obtain the Scottish parliament that Labour has promised.

What about the Unionists?

The two groups of Ulster Unionists, the UUP led by James Molyneaux and the DUP led by the Rev Ian Paisley, are expected to number 14. They will work together in a hung parliament and want a tacit understanding rather than a formal coalition

with a minority government. Ministers have made efforts to improve relations with Ulster Unionists of late and would be likely to make concessions such as instituting a select committee on Northern Ireland and changing the system of Northern Ireland legislation in return for voting support. But they would not be willing to abandon the Anglo-Irish agreement.

An Ulster Unionist deal with Labour is less likely. There is suspicion of Labour's ultimate aims for Irish unification and polls show that the Tories would have much stronger support than Labour if mainland parties only stood in Ulster. Labour could also lose the support of the three Social Democrats and Labour party MPs if they were too accommodating to the Ulster Unionists. But the Ulster Unionists did deal with James Callaghan's minority government and won an extra five seats for the province. The problem for any party in relying on the support of Northern Ireland MPs is in ensuring that they turn up at Westminster to vote.

Is there anything in it for the nationalists?

John Major's strong resistance to any kind of Scottish devolution makes a deal between Tories and nationalists virtually impossible. But it would not be easy for Labour, which had 50 seats in Scotland in 1987, and the Scottish nationalists to do any deal. Although there are points of contact on economic and social policy, they have little incentive to help each other. But increased powers for Labour's proposed Scottish assembly might buy some co-operation. Plaid Cymru is keeping its options open. Again a deal with the Conservatives is unlikely because of the party's opposition to devolution. But the Welsh nationalists resent the fact that Labour is unwilling to offer a Welsh Assembly the same powers as a Scottish parliament.

What about the Conservatives?

John Major's strong resistance to any kind of Scottish devolution makes a deal between Tories and nationalists virtually impossible. But it would not be easy for Labour, which had 50 seats in Scotland in 1987, and the Scottish nationalists to do any deal.

Deal with Labour preferred

By ROBIN OAKLEY
POLITICAL EDITOR

PEOPLE would rather see the Liberal Democrats do a deal with Labour in a hung parliament than with the Tories (Robin Oakley writes).

Paddy Ashdown has said that his supporters are split evenly on whether to join Labour or the Conservatives in a hung parliament coalition. But when Mori tested public opinion in an new opinion survey, 42 per cent said the Liberal Democrats should vote with Labour to put them into government and only 35 per cent said they should support the Conservatives.

A quarter of those polled believe the Scottish nationalists should vote with the Conservatives, and more than a third (36 per cent) believed they should support Labour. And on Ulster Unionists, 25 per cent believed they should go with the Conservatives and 30 per cent with Labour. Mori questioned 1,080 adults in 54 mainland constituencies on March 30.

The Tories' best hope of a deal in a hung parliament would be with the Ulster Unionists. In a separate Mori/Ulster Marketing Survey poll for *The Sunday Times* on attitudes in Northern Ireland, nearly half (47 per cent) of the 1,000 adults questioned from March 28 to April 1 through all 17 Ulster constituencies said that Ulster Unionist MPs should vote with the Conservatives to keep them in government.

Only a fifth (21 per cent) felt that they should vote with Labour. Protestants backed Conservative support 71 per cent to 8 per cent, Roman Catholics backed Labour support 39-11.

Mr. Major says he's lowered taxes.

Y The taxman says he's put them up.

The taxman isn't standing
for re-election.

Mr. Major would have you believe that his is the government of lower taxes.

L But the government's own figures show that the total amount of tax taken has risen

from 34.75% of GDP in 1978/9 to 36.75% in 1991/2.

Of course income tax has been cut. But the government have taken back even more by
increasing VAT and other taxes and introducing the poll tax.

The Inland Revenue Staff Federation believe this is an unfair way to tax.

VAT and flat rate poll tax cost the same to everyone, no matter what they earn.

Income tax, on the other hand, is paid by those who can afford to pay.

We're sorry to have to put you right, Mr. Major. But it's our job to spot a tax dodge.

INLAND REVENUE STAFF FEDERATION



Kohl shut door on old Soviet republic

Clash over trial evidence breaks up Mandela marriage



Problems ahead: Mr and Mrs Mandela seen in public together after his release from prison

COLLAPSE of the 36-year marriage of Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie — for 27 of which the African National Congress leader was in prison — was reported at the weekend but it had been expected for some time.

Since her trial last year when she was sentenced to two years' imprisonment for kidnapping and assault relating to the death of Stompie Mokheti, a teenage activist, the couple have been pursuing virtually separate lives and have seldom been seen in public together. But it is unlikely that Mr Mandela, aged 72, will divorce his wife, who is nearly 20 years younger. They will separate legally, with Mrs Mandela staying in the lavish house she built in Soweto, near Johannesburg.

The reports of the final breakdown of the Mandela marriage follow the mysteri-

Winnie Mandela's alleged involvement with violence and an ultimatum from her husband to stay out of politics led to their split-up. Ray Kennedy writes

ous disappearance last week of Mrs Xoliswa Felati, aged 38, one of Mrs Mandela's three co-defendants, who was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for assault and kidnapping. Like Mrs Mandela, she is on bail pending an appeal against conviction and sentence due on April 30. But it is claimed there was a furious quarrel between the two women last weekend, when Mrs Felati threatened to say that she had lied during the trial to protect Mrs Mandela.

Mr Felati was working at a Methodist Church sanctuary in Soweto from which 14-year-old Stompie Mokheti

was abducted by Mrs Mandela's notorious team of bodyguards, the Mandela United Football Club, four years ago. He was taken with three other youths to Mrs Mandela's Soweto home and his battered body was found later in a ditch. Jerry Richardson, the club's so-called coach, was subsequently sentenced to death for murder and is being held with other condemned prisoners in Pretoria central prison.

Since the trial Mrs Felati had been employed as a servant by the Mandelas, but after last weekend's quarrel was ordered by Mrs Mandela

to leave her backyard room. "She was drunk and in a foul mood and waving a Makarov pistol," Mrs Felati is reported as saying. "She came at me like a mad woman. She was screaming at me that I was going to prison."

Mr Mandela is said to have intervened, but the next day Mrs Felati telephoned a newspaper and said she was "not feeling safe". When reporters arrived, neighbours told them she had left in a car accompanied by several men.

ANC officials have refused to comment on the reported breakdown of the marriage. Mrs Mandela's high-profile political conduct has frequently embarrassed her husband even before he was freed from prison, as well as the ANC hierarchy.

From jail he ordered her to disband the Mandela United Football Club when reports

about its thuggish activities, which led eventually to the kidnap and assault trial, began to surface. Mr Mandela attended court on most days during his three-month trial last year, but it was noticeable that she spent most time during recesses with her own associates rather than with her husband.

Now, it is reported, after a "showdown" with his wife, he has demanded that she should withdraw from politics, something which the charismatic Mrs Mandela will clearly find extremely difficult to do.

The radical Pan Africanist Congress, which until now has refused to take part in constitutional negotiations, is to hold talks with the South African government in Nigeria this week, according to Clarence Makwetu, the PAC president. He did not rule out

the possibility of the PAC taking part in Cedes (Convention for a Democratic South Africa), depending on the outcome of the talks.

The meeting will be held under the chairmanship of President Ibrahim Babangida of Nigeria, chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, in Abuja. The South African delegation will be led by R.F. "Pik" Botha, the foreign minister. According to Nigerian radio, President de Clerk will visit the country late this week for talks with President Babangida.

Continuing black-on-black violence in South Africa has claimed 36 more lives since Friday and a right-wing extremist group, the "White Wolves", has claimed responsibility for a bomb blast at a trade show in Johannesburg which injured nine others.

Gloom descends on Washington

White House morale hits its lowest point

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN WASHINGTON

MARLIN Fitzwater, President Bush's veteran press secretary, came close to resigning last week out of frustration at the endless disarray in the White House in this election year.

At the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, dozens of incumbent congressmen really are leaving, fed up with an institution afflicted by legislative paralysis and viewed with unprecedented contempt by the public. With many other congressmen doomed by the House banking scandal, there are already predictions of a higher turnover in the House this November than 1988's record 118.

In short, a profound malaise has enveloped Washington. The nation is sick of its political establishment. Voters are either giving up on the electoral process, or turning

in huge numbers to insurgents "outsiders" like Jerry Brown, Patrick Buchanan and — though he has yet to declare — the Texas billionaire Ross Perot. If Mr Bush, now below 40 per cent in the polls, does win re-election, it will be largely by default.

The Washington Post reported at the weekend that Mr Fitzwater left a recent White House planning meeting in disgust, complaining that he had "just about had enough". He abruptly left for a holiday in Bermuda.

Mr Fitzwater issued a somewhat equivocal rebuff of the story, but few questioned its gist. Officials spoke of "functional gridlock" at the White House, of "operational constipation" and "an unbelievable inability to execute". One said Mr Fitzwater, who has to explain White House

policy to the country, had "outraged" complained at the meeting of "endless meetings, endless planning, re-planning and revisiting and that nothing ever gets done". Samuel Skinner, the president's new Chief of Staff, was the butt of much of the criticism. He is said to have created a bureaucracy top-heavy with inexperienced officials incapable of following through on their decisions. The result has been that Mr Bush, who is reportedly "miserable", has spent the year jumping from theme to theme, strategy to strategy, and has received the worst press of his presidency. The Centre for Media and Public Affairs calculated that 76 per cent of his coverage since January 1 has been negative.

The latest strategy of a president, who has spent quarter of a century in Washington, is to cast himself as the scourge of the political status quo by bashing the Democrat-controlled congress, the one target weaker than himself.

Following the House post office and banking scandals, which crystallised the public perception of Congress as corrupt, self-serving and out of touch, one poll last week showed the institution now had a derisive 17 per cent approval rating. Veteran members say morale has never been so low. Three times in the last two weeks the Democratic leadership has been unable to muster majorities for controversial legislation.

Already about 50 congressmen and six senators have announced that for various reasons they will not seek re-election in November, some lacing their announcements with bitter words. Warren Rudman, New Hampshire's highly respected senator, declared himself "terribly frustrated" because he could accomplish nothing. Senator Kent Conrad of North Dakota is leaving after one term because he had pledged to reduce, was instead "completely out of control".

So strong is America's present hostility to incumbents that the Republicans harbour outside hopes of winning majorities in the Senate for the first time since 1980 and the House for the first time since 1954. They are deliberately inflaming the public's anger.

The Democrats' House majority of 102 will almost certainly be reduced. The Democrats outnumber Republicans 57-43 in the Senate, but have significantly more senators facing difficult contests this autumn.

"Mrs Clinton would make a 'superb president', said Mr Cuomo, who has a long history of ideological and personal conflict with Mr Clinton. It was almost as an afterthought that he added that he would also support Jerry Brown. Mr Clinton's Democratic opponent, were he to win the party's nomination,

Mr Clinton had disparaged Mr Cuomo in recorded telephone conversations with Jennifer Flowers, his alleged lover, which Ms Flowers released in January. This time, for public consumption, Mr Clinton called Mr Cuomo "one of the most brilliant and insightful political leaders this country has produced in my lifetime". You had to be a little mean just to survive in New York, added the man who has endured a two-week banting by the media.

The Clinton camp were delighted by the visit to Albany, the state capital, and received official endorsement of The New York Times. Some of the allegations levelled against him had been unfair and exaggerated, said the newspaper, which had itself devoted considerable resources to investigating Mr Clinton's past. Those allegations obscured "a record of accomplishment that gives credibility to the cogent programme he proposes".

Mr Brown meanwhile called Mr Clinton the "prince of sleaze" and "puppet" and "frontman" for the political establishment he pretended to oppose.

Mr Clinton is believed to have a slight edge in New York. Failure to win would leave him looking terribly weak and give rise to a welter of speculation about new entrants, a brokered convention or the return of Paul Tsongas.

The former Massachusetts senator remains on the New York ballot despite his withdrawal from the race last month.

DAILY NEWS

HILLARY'S REVENGE

How city saw Hillary Clinton's remarks

Clinton's blow the gaffe

FROM CHARLES BRENNER
IN NEW YORK

JUST when Bill Clinton, the governor of Arkansas, spotted the light at the end of New York's political tunnel of horrors, his wife, Hillary, detonated a furor by complaining that President Bush had kept a mistress and had got away scot-free.

Apologies and contrition poured from the Clinton campaign yesterday after Mrs Clinton, who depicts herself as co-candidate for the presidency, attempted to extricate herself from remarks that provoked guffaws in the Big Apple but backfired in the hinterland. "It was a mistake," said Mrs Clinton. "I did not mean to be hurtful to anyone."

Mrs Clinton's gaffe came in an interview with *Vanity Fair* magazine in which she boiled over at what she sees as a double standard by the media: they mercilessly scrutinise the infidelities of her husband, who is alleged to have had an affair with Jennifer Flowers, while they steered clear of old rumours about Mr Bush. These involved a British-born woman named Jennifer, aged 59, who now works for the State Department. The stories were denied when they briefly surfaced during the 1988 campaign.

"They gonna circle the wagons on Jennifer and all these other people," Mrs Clinton said, speaking of the establishment.

To the despair of the Clintons, the remarks have driven more serious matters out of the New York popular media days before the vote tomorrow.

Arabs seek a way out for Libya

As Gadaffi grows more bellicose, Arab leaders are trying to contain Muslim anger, Christopher Walker writes from Cairo

ARAB foreign ministers are to meet in emergency session in Cairo tomorrow in a last-ditch attempt to devise a face-saving formula to avert the imposition of United Nations sanctions against Libya from April 15. The ministers from the seven-nation committee set up by the Arab League in an effort to resolve the impasse have been snubbed by Colonel Muammar Gadaffi who withdrew an offer to hand over the two Lockerbie suspects to them.

Since then, his attitude has grown more bellicose and uncompromising. The Cairo initiative takes place amid growing anxiety in the Arab world about the possible destabilising effects against countries with moderate Islamic regimes like Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco which have hinted that they will implement the UN sanctions.

The league negotiations will be matched by a visit to Tripoli later this week by Vladimir Petrovsky, the UN undersecretary-general. The diplomatic action has taken on new urgency because of Libya's determination to transform the worsening situation into a struggle between Muslims and Christians, a tactic tried by President Saddam Hussein of Iraq during the Gulf war.

Despite blood-curdling rhetoric, the Libyan leader has made clear that the two suspects, both intelligence agents, are free to surrender to either the Arab League or the UN. Variations on this idea will prove the main substance of this week's diplomatic manoeuvring.

"If the United States and Britain give Gadaffi guarantees that he personally is not the 'big fish' in the Lockerbie affair, then there is a slight hope of a breakthrough by finding a formula to hand the suspects to the Arab League," an Arab diplomat in Tripoli said.

In a fiery speech on Saturday, Colonel Gadaffi defiantly dismissed the threatened sanctions and urged Muslims to "sharpen their swords" to resist a new crusade against Islam from the Christian West. "Muslims all over the world, the battle being waged by modern Western crusading forces, having ended against communism, is now being directed against Islam," he told 3,000 Libyans in the capital's main square.

As people shouted *Allahu Akbar* (God is Great), the white-robed leader told them: "We, too, have to beat the drums and close ranks and sharpen our swords and get



Prayer leader: Colonel Gadaffi appearing at dawn prayers in Tripoli to mark the end of Ramadan, the month of fasting, before making a fiery weekend speech

ready for the confrontation." By playing the Islamic card, Colonel Gadaffi has increased pressure for protest against sanctions to spread to other Arab nations.

Invoking cries of *jihad* (holy war), the Libyan leader told the dawn gathering marking the end of the holy month of Ramadan: "If they try them (the suspects) at the Arab League or in an Arab or friendly country, that would be fine. But they want them tried in a Christian country.

If this is an excuse to occupy Libya, we will resort to arms and automatic guns and barricades. There will be guns and trenches, a line of fire between us and them."

The Libyan leader, worried that any trial could expose the involvement of his secret service in the Lockerbie attack, declared: "Resolution 748 is baseless and thus it is rejected. Libya has not threatened world peace and committed no aggression against other countries. The resolution

TV elite in China get a touch of real life

Peking: Li Peng, the Chinese prime minister, was shown yesterday on evening television news shovelling dirt and planting trees. The hard labour was not punishment for his recent failure to support the senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, but meant to show him as a man of the people (Catherine Sampson writes).

The public relations exercise dictated that he only had to be shown digging for a few seconds, before he was shown resting, as if exhausted. But for others, like the 100 employees of the state-run television station who were recently reported to have been sent to live with peasants in Liaoning province, the rural stint sounds like a bad joke. As city-bred yuppies, journalists and editors have no particular desire to rough it in the countryside. But they have no choice in the matter.

It was the late Chairman Mao who decided that those who were getting too big for their boots should be brought down to earth ... literally, and thousands were sent to the countryside in the mid-1960s. The practice has been making a comeback after the backlash against the pro-democracy movement in 1989.

Loan expected

Peking: The World Bank is expected to provide China with its single largest loan of £285 million by next March to help it develop a national grain distribution network that would be governed by market forces, the China Daily reported. (AFP)

West defied

Havana: President Castro told young Communists here that Cuba would not destroy itself like the former Soviet Union and Cubans would rather die than accept capitalism. Cuba was committed to its one-party communist system, he said. (Reuters)

EC appeals

Ho Chi Minh City: The European Community is launching an appeal for donations to a £72 million scheme to help Vietnam take back up to 80,000 boat people from camps in Asia. The money will provide training and credit.

General chosen

Bangkok: General Suchinda Kraprayoon, nominated as Thailand's 19th prime minister, has been promised the full backing of the powerful army. He is thought to have engineered the coup which toppled the civilian government in 1991. (Reuters)

Sikh shot dead

Delhi: Gurukh Singh, a minor Sikh politician belonging to the Akali Dal party, and six militants were among nine people shot dead in the Indian state of Punjab in separate acts of violence linked to the bloody Sikh separatist campaign. (AFP)

UN mediates

Dhaka: Jan Eliasson, the UN undersecretary-general, held talks with Bangladeshi and Burmese officials to resolve the problem of 200,000 Muslims who have fled Burma. A refugee leader said they would return only if Rangoon gave them citizenship. (AFP)

Killers sought

Lagos: Hundreds of university students and schoolgirls protested against the ritual killings of 17 women in two cities, the capital of Osun state in southwest Nigeria. The authorities promised that the culprits would be found and punished. (AP)

Shamir pays high price to appease Levy

FROM RICHARD BEESTON IN JERUSALEM

ISRAEL'S ruling Likud party yesterday narrowly averted a serious rift within its leadership, when David Levy, the foreign minister, withdrew from an eleventh-hour compromise with Yitzhak Shamir, the prime minister.

In a classic display of Israeli political brinkmanship, Mr Shamir and his mienous deputy announced that they had patched up their differences only minutes before the weekly cabinet meeting at which Mr Levy had vowed to tender his resignation. "I am happy to announce to the cabinet members that we reached an agreement this morning in the dispute between us," Mr Shamir said. "The foreign minister will, of course, continue his presence in the government."

However, party peace was bought at an expensive price for the Likud leader, who promised in writing that Mr Levy would remain foreign minister in the next government and would have the right to appoint a supporter of his choice to the cabinet. Mr Shamir also agreed to place Levy supporters in key government posts in the Knesset. Likud executive committees and to the board of the Jewish Agency, the quasi-governmental organisation responsible for Jewish immigration to Israel.

"I received everything I asked for," Mr Levy said at a press conference. "He told his cabinet colleagues in an

angry outburst that the agreement had only caused further damage to the party.

The ruling party can ill afford such public displays of disunity, particularly as an opinion poll released on Friday showed the opposition Labour party increasing its lead over Likud. The poll conducted for the Hebrew daily *Hadashot*, said if elections were held today, Labour under its new leader, Yitzhak Rabin, would win 46 seats against Likud's 31. It also showed that Labour would be able to form a working coalition in the 120-seat Knesset.

Although Mr Levy's continued presence in the government might improve Likud's standing, particularly among his fellow Sephardi supporters, it will not be enough to stop the Likud leader from leaving the party. "I am not going to be a part of a government that is not a Likud government," he said. "I will not be a part of a government that is not a Likud government."

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PADDY'S BLACKMAIL

The opinion polls are suggesting that by this Friday Paddy Ashdown will be kingmaker. He has spent the weekend saying that he will only make king after this election one who is prepared to defer to Lib-Dem kingmaking after every future election, in other words one who promises proportional representation.

There is no justification for this blackmail, which both main parties have more or less indicated they will resist. Mr Ashdown claims that the message of the electorate in a hung parliament is electoral reform. This is not only nonsense — for that to be the message, the Liberal Democrats would need to have a thumping majority — but it throws away the advantage that they might otherwise gain from a hung parliament.

Political signalling between the Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democratic parties has started in earnest, presaging what would happen during every election were there to be proportional representation in Britain. In the case of the Conservatives, it promptly stopped again on John Major's declaration that he would have nothing to do with PR. Labour is more equivocal. Mr Ashdown has insisted categorically that the larger party must first agree to include a binding commitment to legislate for PR in the Queen's Speech. The best Labour has to offer is a commission, which might eventually propose PR, or might not.

In a hung parliament the first duty of the leader of the largest party will be to talk to some of the smaller parties about the terms of their support, the object being a deal on a government, whether fully fledged coalition or not, that can win a parliamentary majority. First conversations may be with various nationalists. Mr Ashdown's insistence on proportional representation as a "non-negotiable precondition" seems certain to exclude him from this preliminary wheeling and dealing. Having spurned his non-negotiable deal on Friday, either Labour or Conservative leaderships will have to devise a

Queen's Speech that exploits the wider political battlefield to its advantage.

Initiative then passes to them. The Tories might turn to Ulster. In Labour's case Scottish and Welsh assemblies, with PR for them and for local and European elections, would be high on the list, making it almost impossible for Scottish Lib Dem MPs to vote the Speech down without risking annihilation at the hands of nationalists in any ensuing snap election. Liberal Democrats would have either to acquiesce in a big-party government by not voting down its measures, or suffer the agony of forcing a second election at which they would certainly do worse.

Mr Ashdown's refusal to soften his demand on PR is now the obstacle in the way of the rest of what he wants. He said yesterday he seeks a coalition, with a seat for himself and a couple of colleagues in the cabinet. He wants negotiation between the coalition partners to decide on a programme, and he talks of such a government surviving four or five years. He has begun to hint at what else he might insist on — such as the amelioration of Labour's "swingeing tax rates" — as the price of his participation.

The public may be tempted to think that a Lib-Lab pact or coalition presents the best way of ousting the Tories after a lacklustre campaign, and so vote for the Liberal Democrats in the hope of achieving it. Such a prospect might appeal to a party that has long been relegated to the status of also-ran. But Mr Ashdown is in danger of putting at risk in pursuit of something he calls "fair voting" but which most people will regard as unfair leverage for him. The irresponsibility of this leverage is plain within the politically unstable nations that already use proportional representation. Britain has been given a hint of such chaos in Mr Ashdown's antics over the past few days. He has fought a lively campaign. He has not justified a claim to participate in the counsels of government.

RETREAT FROM MAASTRICHT

In the past four months, Britain's political standing in the rest of Europe has undergone a reversal. It is one the voters might care to note on Thursday. Ostensibly the odd man out (though not in private) at the Maastricht summit last year, John Major is today enjoying an unexpected popularity on the Continent as an effective European.

Mr Major has not changed his views. What has happened is that Europe's other leaders have shifted steadily towards him. Whichever party wins the election, Britain will almost certainly ratify the Maastricht treaty before any of its EC partners. A bill will be ready to be presented to Parliament before the summer recess and will probably be voted through in the early autumn.

The British preference for arguing fiercely about European matters, negotiating toughly and then honouring the resulting settlement arouses acute envy in continental states where no such process obtains.

M. Jacques Delors fulsomely praised the vigour of Britain's Maastricht debate the other day on French television *Les Britanniques*, he insisted, had the most open-minded debate to be found in the entire Community. He has reason to worry. No sooner was the ink dry on the treaty and noisy dispute about federalism salied than the EC siftered into querulous gloom.

Most striking of all has been the sharp change of mood in Germany. At Maastricht Chancellor Kohl was the confident manufacturer of the final fudge. Now he and his ministers are having to defend several European fronts at once. The Bundesbank issues a stream of sceptical warnings about the economic risks of a single currency to which Germany and ten other states are now committed by the treaty. Editorials lament the prospective abolition of the deutschmark. Britain's option to escape monetary union, bitterly criticised by Labour and by other

Referendums are certain in Ireland and Denmark. Ireland's new prime minister Albert Reynolds has to propose a revision of Ireland's "abortion protocol", which combines the national ban on abortion with an Irish citizen's freedom to go abroad to have an abortion if she chooses. Redrafting is proving hard and the referendum campaign will be rough. In Denmark the campaign is already underway and the opinion polls suggest that the treaty may not be approved.

Leaders who brushed aside Mr Major's Maastricht plea to "look at the details" are living to rue the day. Public and economic opinion is now able to study the details and see what economic and political union means for industrial costs, for ethnic minorities, for border controls, for tax and social policy. Treaties are important things, not likely to be entered into and not to be made irreversible. A proper scepticism towards EMU is due from Labour and Liberal Democrats as well as from the Tories at this election. That at least would be in line with "European opinion".

RETURN THE MARBLES

When Lord Elgin embarked upon removing the sculptures from the Parthenon after 1801 his intention was to save one of the great treasures of the ancient world for posterity. The marbles had been plundered, smashed and used as building material for centuries. Lord Elgin legally shipped the statues from Athens and sold them to Britain, for £36,000, just half his total expenses.

Mr Kinnock's remarks to Sir Robin Day last week that "the place for the Elgin Marbles is in the Parthenon", repeated a promise he made to a former Greek minister for the arts, Melina Mercouri, in 1985. His case is essentially the same as Lord Byron's, who less than ten years after the marbles had been removed heard a prophetic remark from a Western-educated Greek: "You English are carrying off the works of the Greeks, our forefathers. Preserve them well. We Greeks will come and redeem them."

When Elgin removed the marbles Athens was a town of just 10,000, an obscure corner of the Ottoman empire. He brought them to a city where they would be looked after and viewed by a large and interested public. The British Museum has proved an ideal custodian of the statues, caring for them and displaying them in a handsome gallery. In modern Athens the authorities promise they will be carefully preserved in a new gallery close to the Parthenon.

For the Greeks the marbles have a unique resonance: the Parthenon is a symbol of the cultural unity and continuity of their nation: Greece's Crown Jewels. The value of the marbles to Greece is incomparably greater than it is to the British. Yet the Trustees of the British Museum have long argued that their responsibility to preserve them is inalienable and to return them to Greece would open the floodgates of endless demands for the return

of cultural artefacts that would leave their display cases bare.

There is a clear distinction between valuable artefacts and treasures of intense national significance. If historians and antiquarians cannot tell the difference, then somebody else should do so for them. There are few objects so closely bound up with a nation's sense of identity as the marbles. (The Ashanti regalia also hoarded by the British Museum is another case in point.) St Stephen's Crown has been returned from America to Hungary. If by break of history the Stone of Scone was held abroad the Scots would rightly assert a claim.

The Elgin Marbles have been well cared for by Britain, but other ancient objects have fared less well. Cleopatra's Needle, the 1500 BC obelisk, stands unprotected on the Embankment under constant attack from motor fumes and other pollution. "Cleopatra's Needle should be in a museum in Cairo," says the Egyptian embassy's cultural councillor. The moral claim to be a rich treasure-house of art from throughout the world must rest upon a commitment to conserve and properly display.

Why in any case should the art of a nation be incarcerated in one place for all time, at home or abroad? The best museums of the future will be those prepared to clear out their collections, trade their objects and improve their displays. Nothing is more stifling than the fashion for treating collections as fixed and permanent. It has made museums moribund, their collections augmented only when they can squeeze money out of governments to pay soaring prices for a dwindling stock of artefacts. In the realm of art nowhere is more hogwash talked than on this topic. The marbles should be returned and the cobwebs of museum curatorship swept aside.

Consequences of minimum wage and higher tax rate

From the Chairman of the British Clothing Industry Association

Sir, It is widely suggested that all our competitor countries in the EC have a national minimum wage. On the contrary, according to information from the CBI, Income Data Services and the Community itself, only six out of the 12 EC countries have a specific national minimum wage — namely, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, Portugal and Spain. In the other EC countries there is a mixture of legally enforceable collective agreements, statutory provisions for certain groups and no statutory measures at all.

Even those countries which do have a national minimum wage exclude certain categories of workers. The UK is not the odd one out.

A national minimum of £3.40 per hour would be disastrous for those sectors of the UK economy covered by wages councils. Wages council orders cover over four million people.

In the clothing industry, for example, payment systems are generally incentive-based and the vast majority of workers already earn in excess of £3.40 an hour. A national minimum of that level would dramatically reduce the incentive element and force employers to increase total wages to retain productivity and output. This could increase the wage bill by as much as 25 per cent.

Such an increase could be recovered by our customers, the retailers, paying more and in turn passing the increase onto their customers. That would be highly inflationary. In practice retailers, who are also directly affected by the national minimum wage proposal, would substitute imports for their UK supplies, at the cost of British jobs. These job losses are likely to run into tens of thousands — surely a terrible price to pay for Labour's national proposed minimum wage policy.

Yours faithfully,
JAMES MCDAM, Chairman,
British Clothing Industry
Association Ltd,
7 Swallow Place, W1.

April 3.

Labour's target for growth in science and technology

From the Labour party spokesman on science and technology

Sir, It is not the eminent scientists writing in your columns (March 23) who have been curiously fanciful, as Mr Alan Howarth, the Conservative minister with responsibility for science, alleges, but himself (letter, March 27).

For the past 13 years no Conservative minister has gone round visiting British scientists at work in academia and in industry with an open mind and the understanding to see what they were actually able to do by comparison with similar scientists working abroad.

Had he done so, Mr Howarth would know that British scientists are not being mediocramatic in what they say about the handicaps under which they work. He would know why they get angry at his bandying about of inappropriate statistics. As it is Mr Howarth is not even prepared to defend his stewardship of science in meetings with scientists during the election to which we were both invited.

Mr Howarth says government must fund basic science out of the fruits of economic growth. He does not understand that basic research is a pre-condition of growth in a healthy modern industrial society, if it is to respond sensitively to changing social, economic and environmental circumstances. And it is an essential element in the culture of modern society.

With the rapidly moving frontiers of science and technology, a country which does not have an adequate basic research effort soon finds it loses the flow of people and ideas

which keep a technologically advanced society alive. We are well behind the intensity of basic science funding in our institutionally most similar neighbours, France and Germany.

Near market research, he says, is the responsibility of the private sector. If so it is letting the government down badly. Industry funded civil research and development is 1.2 per cent of GDP in the UK, 1.42 per cent in the US, 1.92 per cent in Germany and 2.9 per cent in Japan.

The latest figures for the UK just published by the Central Statistical Office show an actual fall in real terms in both defence and civil R&D in industry.

The number of scientists working in defence R&D in industry fell by 3,000 in one year. But far from switching those research scientists to civil R&D to build up our much needed technological competitiveness, the number of scientists working in civil R&D also fell by 2,000.

And that was in 1990, before the recession really bit. The industrial effect we have seen in the severe attrition of the British electronic and aerospace industries.

Labour has set the target of increasing our civil R&D from the present 1.8 per cent of GDP to 2.5 per cent, approaching that of our competitors. Most of it must be in civil R&D carried out in industry and paid for by industry, with the comprehensive set of incentives and support measures which we have proposed.

But support for the science base must be increased at the same time. It has suffered severe attrition, and if

not supported quickly its decline will be irreversible.

Yours faithfully,
JEREMY BRAY.

10 Brandon Street,
Motherwell, Strathclyde.

March 30.

Large salaries

From Sir Bryan Roberts

Sir, Mr J. R. Anderson (letter, March 30) recommends institutional shareholders to restrain the immoderate salary increases which the chairman of British Gas is reported to be awarding himself. But why should we expect any chairman of an institution with substantial holdings in the gas industry to act so responsibly, when he is probably planning a similarly generous increase in his own salary, with the helpful example of British Gas, British Telecom and other privatised undertakings to justify it?

Yours faithfully,
BRYAN ROBERTS,

3 Caroline Place, W2.

Charity begins . . .

From Mrs D. F. Sweeting

Sir, It occurs to me that it would be useful if charities produced a donation form which includes the words "this is a one-off donation, I may or may not be moved to give to you again but I do not wish for expensive literature to be showered on me for the rest of my life".

Many are prepared to give once to some particular appeal, but most of us have a list of charities we support and are unable or unwilling to add to them.

Yours faithfully,
ELIZABETH SWEETING.

Hill Farm, Little Rissington,
Cheltenham, Gloucestershire.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (071) 782 5046.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

Political shyness on world poverty

From the Director of Christian Aid

Sir, The Labour and Liberal Democrat parties have each given us detailed and enlightened responses to some serious questions about world poverty which we and five other leading aid agencies raised through your correspondence columns on March 20. You, Sir, have also published shorter replies from Labour (Mrs Clwyd, March 25) and the Conservatives (Mrs Chalker, April 3). Why then are the parties so shy about voicing their concerns to the electorate?

It is, as leading churchmen have suggested in relation to urban decay (letter, March 31), the lack of social and ethical vision? Does this lack of vision extend further, to a failure to address the root causes of a world increasingly out of kilter, whether in terms of the environment or endemic divisions between rich and poor? Or is it simply about not taking the electorate seriously enough?

The responses we received from the Liberal Democrats and Labour would make me conclude that neither of those parties are without vision. In relation to world poverty many of the issues are well understood and well defined and there are some sensible suggestions for ways forward. But to what extent can commitments to future action be taken seriously when, like urban decay, they do not even begin to feature in the daily media jamboree?

The tragedy of current electioneering is the extent to which it assumes no sensitivity on the part of the electorate to the other priorities that exist beyond our own pockets and our own lives. Yet the same electorate constantly shows through its response to charitable and other needs, as well as opinion polls on broader social issues, that it has a clear vision and is actually interested in investing in a better world for all. Why don't the parties seize on this and challenge us to be true to our better selves?

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL TAYLOR, Director,
Christian Aid, PO Box 100, London SE1 7RT.

Party commitments

From Sir Fitzroy Maclean

Sir, More than once over the years the Labour party has, on coming to power, fulfilled a number of its commitments. Under clause four of its constitution it is still, as far as I know, expressly committed to nationalising the means of production, distribution and exchange, in other words to turning this country into a socialist state. This at a time when most countries (with the exception of Castro's Cuba) are turning their backs on socialism.

If in fact the present leaders of the Labour party have finally jettisoned socialism, along with so much else that was once dear to them, might it not be better for them to say so and adjust their constitution accordingly? At least the electors would then know where they stood.

Yours faithfully,
FITZROY MACLEAN,
Strachur House,
Strachur, Argyll.
April 1.

Attacks on Kinnock

From Mrs M. G. Pattison

Sir, One of the most unpleasant aspects of the election campaign is the personal and often vicious attacks against Mr Neil Kinnock made by Mr John Major and many other senior members of the Conservative party. A lesser man would have buckled under such an onslaught.

Mr Kinnock does not need a soapbox to increase his stature.

Yours faithfully,
M. G. PATTISON,
1 Hemden Gardens, West End,
Southampton, Hampshire.
March 31.

The tiger becomes exhausted. The dogs head it off and the men begin to overtaking it. They prepare to pin it down with their stout wooden forks'.

The photographs, 53 years apart, have one thing in common: humans are tormenting a terrified animal to make money. And the part of your caption that really sticks in the throat is: "sent to zoos around the world for breeding purposes", since the Usurpi tiger obviously manages to breed in Siberia without such fine altrism.

Yours faithfully,
RONALD BALAAM,
83 Overdale, Ashtead, Surrey.

BDs in EL

From Mr Graham Bird

Sir, As an interested observer of the ever-changing English language (EL), I note with concern the rapid spread of unnecessary bracketed abbreviations (UBAs) and pointless-hyphens (PHs). If these features continue to proliferate at their present rate (P.R.), I predict that by the end-of-the-decade, almost every phrase will be pointlessly-hyphenated-and-unecessarily-abbreviated (PHUA'D). And this is-to-say-nothing of that other curious phenomenon (CP), the widespread-insertion-of-redundant-apostrophe's ('KA's) into many plurals. Can you confirm, Sir, that these bizarre developments (BD's) are true signs-of-the-time's?

Yours etc.,
GRAHAM BIRD,
44 Ravensmead Way, W4.
April 2.



COURT CIRCULAR

BUCKINGHAM PALACE

April 4: The Duke of Edinburgh this afternoon arrived at Heathrow Airport, London, from a visit to France. Lieutenant Commander Malcolm Sillars, RN, was in attendance.

The Duke of York today presented Colours to the 2nd/11th Battalion, the 7th/10th Battalion, and the 5th Battalion, Ulster Defence Regiment, at Redford Cavalry Barracks, Edinburgh.

His Royal Highness was received at Royal Air Force Turnhouse by Her Majesty's Lord-Lieutenant for the City of Edinburgh (Mrs Eleanor McLaughlin), the Rt Hon the Lord Provost.

The Lady Glenconner was in attendance.

KENSINGTON PALACE

April 4: The Duchess of Gloucester, Patron of London College of Music, was present this evening at a Concert at St Barnabas Church, Pittsborough Lane, and later attended a Reception at the Polytechnic of West London, Warwick Road, Ealing, London W5.

Mrs Euan McCorquodale was in attendance.

April 5: The Duchess of Gloucester, Colonel-in-Chief, Royal Army Educational Corps, this morning attended a Service of Commemoration and Rededication in the Great Hall, Eltham Palace, London SE9.

In the afternoon Her Royal Highness attended a Beating of Retreat and met members of the Royal Army Education Centre, Beaconsfield.

Mrs Euan McCorquodale was in attendance.

KENSINGTON PALACE

April 4: The Prince of Wales today attended the Enthronement of the Right Reverend Peter Ball as Bishop of Gloucester in Gloucester Cathedral.

Lieutenant Commander Robert Fraser, RN, was in attendance.

KENSINGTON PALACE

April 5: The Princess Margaret

Anniversaries

BIRTHS: Jean Baptiste Rousseau, poet, Paris, 1671; Maximilien de Robespierre, French revolution leader, Arras, 1758; Alexander Herzen, writer and socialist, Moscow, 1812.

DEATHS: Raphael, painter, Rome, 1520; Albrecht Dürer, painter and engraver, Nuremberg, 1528; Sir Francis Walsingham, statesman, London, 1590; John Stow, antiquary, London, 1605; Giovanni Pascoli, poet, Bologna, 1912; Edwin Arlington Robinson, poet, New York, 1935; Jules Bordet, bacteriologist, Nobel laureate, 1919, Brussels, 1961; Igor Stravinsky, composer, New York, 1971.

The revival of the Olympic Games at Athens, 1896. Robert Peary arrived at the North Pole, 1909. The United States declared war on Germany, 1917.

Nature notes

THE first chaffinches are back from the Mediterranean, but they are coming in more slowly than usual because of the cold winds. In passage, they sing in parks and gardens, but most of them settle down to breed in high woods with an undergrowth of brambles.

A few hoopoes have arrived from Africa: they are exotic pink birds, barred black and white above, with a crest they can open like a fan. In farmland, little owls are mating, and their noisy whistles ring out across the fields. Siting on a fence-post, they are brown with their white eyebrows.

Leaves and buds have also been slow to open further, but a green shimmer is creeping across the hawthorns, and the round elm buds in the hedges are turning into tiny leaf. One

NOOPOE

of the smallest English flowers, whitlow grass, is out in stony places: it has four minuscule white petals, all cleft in two, and its brown stem is about an inch and a half tall.

The bright pink, four-petaled flowers of honesty can be found here and there on bare woodland floors: the species was brought here from southern Europe 500 years ago, and has often naturalised itself.

DJM



The Duke of Edinburgh, wearing the uniform of an Admiral of the Fleet, inspecting veterans who returned to St Nazaire, France, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the daring commando raid

Michael Bourdeaux

Churches struggle in Ukraine

The churches in Ukraine are rejoicing in the new independence from Moscow. The emergence of this huge country with 52 million people considerably larger than Poland both in area and population will change the balance of European politics as well as of religion.

The history is complex. Kievans of the Middle Ages accepted Orthodox Christianity in 988, but later fell to Tatar invasions from the East, which pushed the civilisation north to Muscovy, where it became Russian. Ukrainian culture as such was driven west to Galicia and eventually came under the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus in 1988 Ukrainians resented Moscow's presentation of the millennium of Christianity as primarily a Russian event, centred upon Moscow.

Only the eastern Ukraine was in the USSR in the 1930s, when Stalin tried to break its resistance through the purges and deliberate famine. Some remnant of Christian identity remained, despite the pressures of atheism and conformity.

The second world war brought a dramatic change. The Germans allowed the re-opening of churches in areas they overran, so the Soviets later justified renewed persecution under the charge that the church had collaborated with the Nazis.

The victorious Red Army pushed the western frontier of the USSR far into Poland and Czechoslovakia thus bringing the whole of Ukraine under one political system and incorporating millions of nationalists in Galicia, the heartland of the Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church.

In 1946 Stalin abolished this Church at the Synod of Lviv, the legality of which was never accepted by Rome or the Ukrainian diaspora abroad. In a strange sequence of events, this assault would set in train the reversal of Soviet dominance over Ukraine 45 years later. Ukrainian national sentiment was driven underground and the Russian Orthodox took over the churches. For decades Soviet propaganda claimed the Greek Catho-

lics had destroyed themselves, but finally on June 10, 1991 Patriarch Alexi II of Moscow admitted in *Inlesia* that these events had occurred "under strong pressure from the Stalinist administration".

Christians were in the forefront of the re-emergence of free opinion in Ukraine in the 1960s. Nikita Khrushchev renewed violent religious persecution in 1959, as a result of which there was a sustained campaign to close the great monastery, the Pochayev Lavra. On July 25, 1964, Yefrosina Shehur wrote to U

Thant, then Secretary-General of the United Nations, saying that her son was a monk at the monastery, but the authorities refused him residence rights and imprisoned him. "For communists," she commented, "white will always be black and vice-versa."

This initiative alerted world opinion

and this kept the monastery open. It was such defiance which would eventually lead to Ukrainian independence.

At the same time as the Pochayev events, the small Baptist community made Kiev the USSR-wide focus of an extraordinary campaign to break Soviet control over their life. Pastor Georgi Vins challenged the Soviet authorities to concede the freedom of worship guaranteed under the constitution, but this cost him prison sentences of three and then ten years. However, his followers alerted millions of people round the world to Soviet injustice. Public opinion was further enraged when Brezhnev expelled Vins to the USA as part of an exchange for Soviet spies held in America. Five Christians are now two spy-sies", said Vins at the time.

The 1970s saw the re-emergence of Ukrainian nationalism, partly fuelled by the success Christians had had in resisting persecution in the previous decade. Most of the activists were themselves Christian. They quoted the new Helsinki Accords of 1975 in their defence, but this did not save them from heavy sentences in the courts.

This nationalist movement dovetailed into the rebirth of the Greek-Catholic Church. Far from having annihilated

laid by the events of 1946, it now had a cover following of perhaps five million, many attending worship in the churches that were now officially Russian Orthodox, some meeting in secret.

It was the laity who presented the public face of the campaign for re-legislation, men such as Vasyl Kobryn. He proclaimed his allegiance to the Ukrainian Catholic Church at a time when it did not officially exist, for which he suffered long imprisonment. In 1987 Ivan Hel, another layman, who had himself spent 17 years in the gulag, took over the leadership.

Ivan Hel was a group of secretly ordained bishops who eventually identified themselves. They began celebrating the liturgy in the open air, often outside the churches they claimed back. The continued existence of an underground church was manifestly incompatible with perestroika and these vast crowds were the same people who would soon be spearheading the movement for Ukrainian independence (Rukh). In a remarkably short time they persuaded the more sovietised population in the eastern Ukraine that continued allegiance to Moscow was neither politically nor economically beneficial for a vast republic which contained so many of its own resources.

On December 1, 1989, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev brought the gift of a legalised Greek-Catholic Church to the Pope in Rome. The Moscow Patriarchate has bitterly resented the re-emergence of the Ukrainian Catholics, claiming that they have been dispossessing the Orthodox, the rightful owners of the church buildings. Perhaps, now that Ukraine is independent, it may be possible for the two sides to resolve their differences in a less fraught atmosphere. However, a complicating factor is that the Orthodox Church itself is divided in Ukraine. The Moscow Patriarchate is under criticism from some Orthodox believers who want to break away from its dominating influence.

Canon Michael Bourdeaux is director of Keston Research, Oxford.

Forthcoming marriages

Captain A.D.F. Acheson, QRIH and Miss D.E. French

The engagement is announced between Captain Andrew Acheson, The Queen's Royal Irish Hussars, son of Mr and Mrs Peter Acheson, of Castlecaulfield, Co Tyrone, and Diana, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs John Francis, of The Hall House, Bleathwood, near Ludlow, Shropshire.

Mr S.D.C. Hillard and Miss N.F. French

The engagement is announced between Simon, only son of Mr and Mrs M.D. Hillard, of Newick, Sussex, and Nicky, younger daughter of Dr and Mrs R.L.D. French, of St Albans, Hertfordshire.

Mr A.J. Keech and Miss J.L. Petty

The engagement is announced between Andrew, elder son of Mr and Mrs A. Keech, of Yeloland, North Devon, and Jillian, elder daughter of Mr and Mrs John Petty, of Darrow, South Yorkshire.

Mr P.L. Letts and Miss L. Giordaimina

The engagement is announced between Philip, son of Mr and Mrs A.A. Letts, of Fairlight, Kingston Hill, Surrey, and Lorella, daughter of Mr and Mrs G. Giordaimina, of Grosse Pointe, Michigan, USA.

Mr P.J. Moore and Miss A.J. Runciman

The engagement is announced between Philip, son of Mr and Mrs S. D. Clark, of Cwmcarn, Rivelin, Somerton and Charlotte, daughter of Mr and Mrs G.H.L. Runciman, of Rhu, Dunbartonshire.

Mr T.A. Perry and Miss C.L. Unell

The engagement is announced between Robert, son of Mr and Mrs J. Moore, of Shifnal, Shropshire, and Alison Jane, eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs H.J.L. Runciman, of Rhu, Dunbartonshire.

Mr C.J. Barnes and Miss K.E. Mitchell

The engagement is announced between Jeffrey, son of Mrs Eva Broadbent, of Cronulla, Australia, and Jill, daughter of Mr and Mrs Leslie Prescott, of Luton, Bedfordshire.

Mr R.P.C. Clark and Miss J.E. Prescott

The engagement is announced between Jeffrey, son of Mrs Eva Broadbent, of Cronulla, Australia, and Jill, daughter of Mr and Mrs Leslie Prescott, of Luton, Bedfordshire.

Mr T.A. Perry and Miss E. de Bellefroid

The engagement is announced between Timothy, son of Captain T.G. Perry, OBE, DSC, RN, of Brussels, and Mrs Eve Stace, of Midgham Green, Berkshire, and Dominique, daughter of Mr and Mrs Eric de Bellefroid, of Mol, Belgium.

Marriages

Mr C.C. Mitchell and the Hon Charlotte Lennox-Boyd

The marriage took place on Saturday at St Germans Priory, near Tidford, Cornwall, of Mr Charles Mitchell, eldest son of the late Mr James Mitchell and of Mrs Mitchell, to the Hon Charlotte Lennox-Boyd, elder daughter of Viscount and Viscountess Boyd of Merton. The Rev Stephen Collier officiated, assisted by the Rev Andrew Henderson.

The bride, given in marriage by her father, was attended by Charlotte Adam, Evelyn Amoy, Olivia Amoy, Catherine Becker, Alice Boyle, Rebecca Coryton, Daisy Dugmore, Patricia Lennox-Boyd, Judith Lindfield, Felicia Tusa and Mary Wellesley. Mr Matthew Pilkington was best man.

A reception was held at the home of the bride's grandmother.

Dr N.M. Rose and Frociss K. Haaghej

The marriage took place on Saturday at Lenning Church, Jutland, Denmark, of Dr Nicholas Martin Rose, younger son of Sir Clive and Lady Rose, of Lavenham, Suffolk, to Frociss Karen Haaghej, daughter of Mr and Mrs Jan Haaghej, of Lenning, Denmark. Pastor Edith Bitch officiated.

The bride, who was given away in marriage by her father, was attended by Christopher Vane was best man.

A reception was held at the Hotel Norre Vinkel, Lenning, and the honeymoon will be spent in Corsica.

A reception was held at the bride's home.

Mr G. McLean and Miss L. Clement

The marriage took place on Saturday, April 4, 1992, in Chelsea, London, of Gary McLean, of Hong Kong, son of Mr and Mrs Cameron McLean, of Hadley Wood, Hertfordshire, to Louise Clements of Hong Kong, daughter of Dr and Mrs John Clement, of Freeport, Bahamas.

Lieutenant Commander C.D.R. Morgan and Miss S. Stowell

The marriage took place on April 4, 1992, at St Bartholomew-the-Great, West Smithfield, London, EC1, between Mr Stephen Baxter and Miss Sarah Stowell.

The bride was given in marriage by her father, Dr Eldon Stowell, and attended by Alexandra Knox and Laura Bradfield. Stowell, 30, was best man. The wedding was held at the Great Hall, St Bartholomew's Hospital and the honeymoon is being spent abroad.

Mr J. A. Stowell and Miss S. Stowell

The marriage took place on Saturday at St Germans Priory, near Tidford, Cornwall, of Mr Charles Mitchell, eldest son of the late Mr James Mitchell and of Mrs Mitchell, to the Hon Charlotte Lennox-Boyd, elder daughter of Viscount and Viscountess Boyd of Merton. The Rev Stephen Collier officiated, assisted by the Rev Andrew Henderson.

The bride, given in marriage by her father, was attended by Christopher Vane was best man.

A reception was held at the Hotel Norre Vinkel, Lenning, and the honeymoon will be spent in Corsica.

A reception was held at the bride's home.

Mr P. C. Clark and Miss J. E. Prescott

The engagement is announced between Jeffrey, son of Mrs Eva Broadbent, of Cronulla, Australia, and Jill, daughter of Mr and Mrs Leslie Prescot, of Luton, Bedfordshire.

Mr T.A. Perry and Miss E. de Bellefroid

The engagement is announced between Timothy, son of Captain T.G. Perry, OBE, DSC, RN, of Brussels, and Mrs Eve Stace, of Midgham Green, Berkshire, and Dominique, daughter of Mr and Mrs Eric de Bellefroid, of Mol, Belgium.

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Ombudsman accuses top consultants of not caring

BY TONY DAWE

STRONG criticism of hospital consultants for indifference to patients' feelings has come from William Reid, the health service ombudsman.

He accused consultants of adopting "wholly inappropriate attitudes" and of showing lack of concern about complaints made against them.

He said that better communication between all National Health Service staff and patients was the key to reducing the number of complaints he received. In the year ending on March 31, there were 1,170, an increase of 18 per cent on the previous year, which itself set a record.

Among the cases Mr Reid has considered in the past year are complaints against nurses, ambulancemen and administrators. His greatest concern, however, is over the behaviour of consultants, the majority of whom earn an average £40,000 a year in

private practice in addition to their NHS salaries of up to £49,000. "I still find that the old-fashioned consultant cares not one jot for the feelings of the patient," Mr Reid said. "He is completely self-centred and regards any complaint as a distraction."

Last year he criticised an obstetrician for "discreetous and appalling behaviour". The consultant's health authority called him to two meetings with the parents of a newborn baby who had died. The mother had complained that she was told by the hospital to stay at home for several hours even though her contractions were increasing. She also complained that the consultant had been unprepared for the first meeting and had left the second without explanation.

The ombudsman upheld the complaint about the hospital's admission arrangements and added in his report: "I was appalled by the apparent lack of preparation by the consultant... I was in no doubt that the manner of the consultant's departure from the second meeting was disconcerting and perceived as abrupt."

In another case, a surgeon refused to allow an elderly patient to bring a friend, a member of a community health council, to an important consultation. The patient was anxious about surgical treatment he had received and the main purpose of the meeting was to allay his fears. The ombudsman found that the consultant's attitude was unreasonable and at odds with health department's consensus approach.

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In recent weeks, the mujahedin, committed to overthrowing the Tehran regime, have stepped up a virulent propaganda campaign and incited unrest in Iran ahead of the parliamentary elections. Gulf-based diplomats said the Iranian raid was a warning to the rebels that they could no longer operate with impunity inside a severely weakened Iraq.

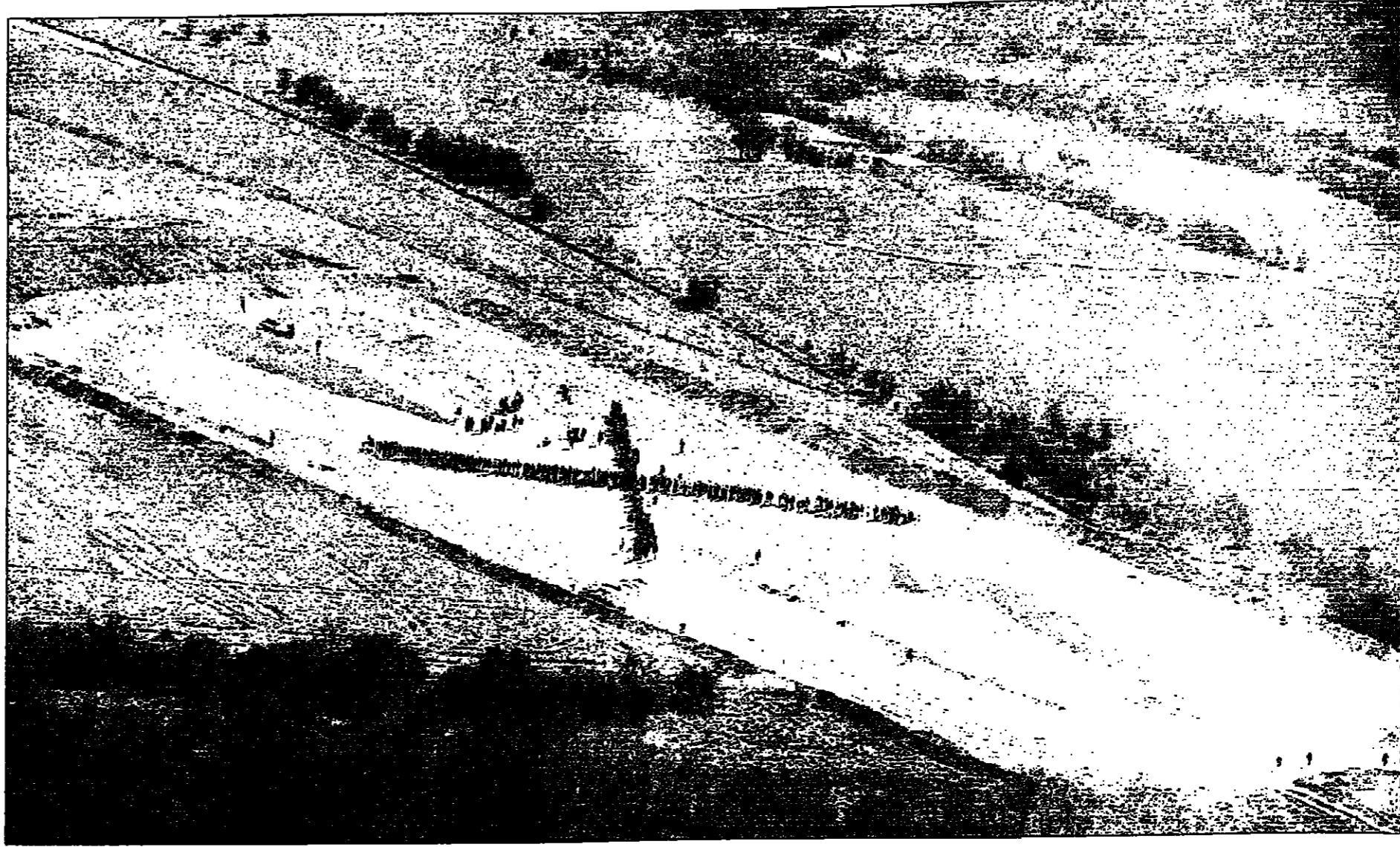
Iranians bomb Iraq

Continued from page 1

appeared to end the phoney alliance engineered by President Saddam Hussein after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. The Iraqi leader offered border concessions to Tehran and the return of Iranian prisoners of war to ensure that Iran did not join the coalition against him. Since the war, Iran has refused to return dozens of fighter planes which Iraqi pilots flew there to save them from American bombers.

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Underground movement: protesters form a cross on excavations for the final section of the M3 on Twyford Down yesterday. They are hoping to force the government into building a tunnel to take the road under the Hampshire beauty spot (Michael Dynes writes). The exposed chalk marks the start of a cutting, 400ft wide and 100ft deep, designed to carry the motorway around the shoulder of the down. The demonstration was staged by the Twyford

Down Association to draw attention to a voting campaign in which disaffected local Tories are being urged to vote for Labour and Liberal Democratic candidates who oppose building the motorway over the down. Christopher

Chope, the roads minister, is one candidate threatened. Robin Maynard, the environmental campaigner for Friends of the Earth said that the effect of the preliminary works on the environment was superficial: "The dam-

age will not be irreparable until the contractors start work on the cutting. The protest must continue because until that work starts later this year there is still hope." The transport department insists a tunnel would increase costs.

Major's sword of socialism plea

Continued from page 1

to get them implemented is to vote for Labour government.

Mr Kinnock will lead calls to voters to give Britain a strong Labour government rather than a hung parliament, so that the policies they favour will be put into effect. The campaign will now concentrate on the recession and health, stressing Labour's consensus approach.

The Labour leader, in another sign of his apparent willingness to move gradually on electoral reform, gave a clear signal that he was prepared to envisage the introduction of proportional representation for the next elections to the European Parliament in 1994.

He gave his clearest pledge yet on income tax rates, promising no increases after a first budget. He said categorically that under Labour there will be no rises in the rates of tax of 25, 40 and 50 per cent plus 9 per cent national insurance. In an inter-

view on BBC Radio's *The World This Weekend*, Mr Kinnock said there would be no "triumphant" approach in government.

There was no virtue in a confrontational attitude. The so-called "firm government" approach of the past 13 years had proved to be fragile and in many ways incompetent.

Mr Ashdown conceded that he was risking divisions in his own party by standing by his refusal to prop up a minority Labour or Tory government unless he received a commitment to legislation on PR. He admitted there might be "difficulties and tensions" within the party in a hung parliament.

As the polls continue to chart a rise in the Liberal Democrat standing, Mr Ashdown told party workers last night that it had achieved the prospect of a "significant parliamentary force" after the election.

It could, he said, act as a bridgehead for a greater ad-

vance to a Liberal Democrat government within the decade.

Norman Lamont entered the fray after Mr Kinnock's statement in his interview that promises in Labour's manifesto would be implemented only if resources allowed, saying that "honest qualification" was built in on "about every occasion".

Mr Lamont last night wrote to Mr Kinnock saying that he had counted 32 pledges which were not accompanied by any such qualification.

The Conservatives plan to redouble their attacks this week on Labour's tax and spending plans despite the fact that only 13 per cent of the electorate say that taxation will help to decide their votes.

Mr Major said earlier on TV-am that Mrs Thatcher had "taken a hatchet to the undergrowth" clogging the economy and cleared a pathway to prosperity. "I am

Brokers prepare for an all-night sitting

BY MICHAEL CLARK, STOCK MARKET CORRESPONDENT

THE City's big securities houses are hoping to make a handsome profit from Thursday's election battle, whatever the outcome.

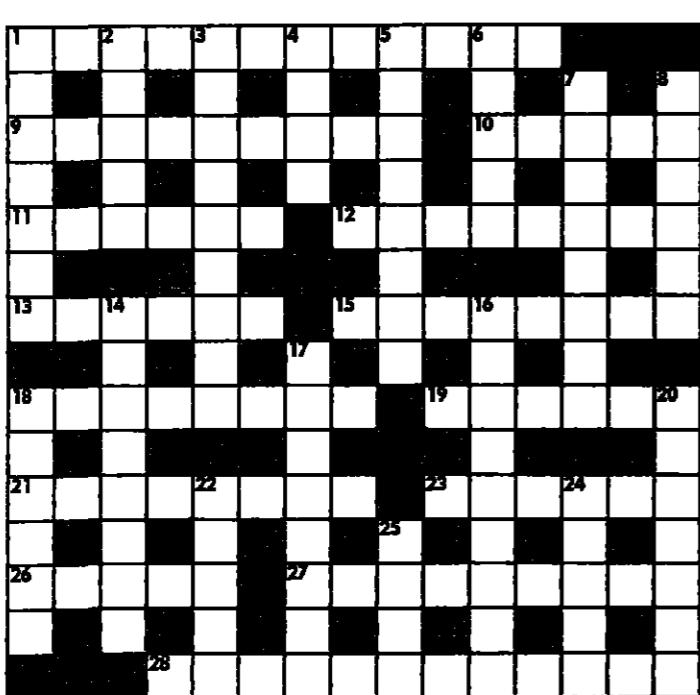
Teams of traders will continue dealing throughout the night as the results become known. Brokers in London will be taking advantage of the time differences of the world's major financial centres. Trading in New York will continue until around 10pm London time, with heavy turnover expected among the big British companies; many of whose shares trade in America in a package form. Dealing in Tokyo is expected to begin around 2am London time and continue through until 7am.

The London Stock Exchange has made arrangements to start dealings on Friday half-an-hour earlier than normal. Its computer trading system, Seaq, will be open for update at 7am and the mandatory quote period will begin at 8am instead of the usual 8.30am start.

BZW, London's biggest securities and investment banking house, and a subsidiary of Barclays Bank, has lined up a team of bond dealers and will trade until the close of business on Wall Street. Its economics team under the lead of Michael Hughes will also be on hand to analyse the election result and its likely impact.

Midland Montagu, a subsidiary of Midland Bank, will be manning the telephones throughout the night making prices in government securities. Smith New Court, one of London's two publicly quoted securities houses, will also be providing a team of equity market traders, as will rival Kleinwort Benson.

THE TIMES CROSSWORD NO 18,885



A daily safari through the language jungle. Which definitions are correct?

By Philip Howard
CLASSICS

MACHAO
a. The God of Battle
b. An early doctor
c. A river of Thrace
PALLADAS
a. A shrine of Pallus Athene
b. Writer of epigrams
c. A Roman Emperor
BACIS
a. An inspired prophet
b. A Thessalian pyramide
c. A lover of Aphrodite
COLUMELLA
a. An arcedo stas
b. Ancient Roman Cicerone
c. An agricultural writer

Answers on page 18

For the latest AA traffic and road-works information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code

London & SE
C London (within N & S Circs) 731
M-way/roads M4-M1 725
M25 726
M25/M4 727
M25/M4/M25 728
M25 London Orbital only 735
National
National motorways 737
West Country 738
Midlands 739
East Anglia 740
North-West England 742
North-East England 743
Scotland 744
Northern Ireland 745
Local
M4 731
M25 732
M25/M4 733
M25/M4/M25 734
M25/M4/M25/M25 735
M25 London Orbital only 736
Motorways
M-way/roads M4-M1 725
M25 726
M25/M4 727
M25/M4/M25 728
M25 London Orbital only 735
Local
M4 731
M25 732
M25/M4 733
M25/M4/M25 734
M25/M4/M25/M25 735
M25 London Orbital only 736
National
National motorways 737
West Country 738
Midlands 739
East Anglia 740
North-West England 742
North-East England 743
Scotland 744
Northern Ireland 745
Local
M4 731
M25 732
M25/M4 733
M25/M4/M25 734
M25/M4/M25/M25 735
M25 London Orbital only 736

27 The salesman scoffed about swindle, the scoundrel! (9).
28 "Half please" — an odd order to give a goddess (6).
1 To many a loss-up — take a chance on it (7).
2 Bush senior (5).
3 This country calls for more drastic policies (9).
4 The writer left a medico to follow (4).
5 Cheap honest? Explain that! (8).
6 The measure of a top man (5).
7 It's all recklessly put on a horse (8).
8 The experienced sailor goes aloft without publicity (3-3).
14 Separated and placed under cover (8).
16 Bring delight (9).
17 Neat girl's make-up unimpaired (8).
18 Second firm to employ a man from Merseyside (6).
20 Take over from an official about 51 (7).
22 Mouth a letter (5).
24 A maxim for modern times (5).
25 Copies in the cheapest of materials (4).
26 A magic formula to gain time (5).
ACROSS
1 Shaw's fruity drama (3,5,4).
9 Such agents are plainly not extremists (9).
10 Turner's articles in French and English (5).
11 A monster's turn-over, dealing with craft (6).
12 Began grabbing the cash, and set off alarm (8).
13 He'll find a precious metal's put with a base one (6).
15 Taking stock of other people (8).
18 Issue involving press operators (8).
19 The music man grew an exotic variety (6).
21 Incurred a financial liability exaggerated in the reporting (8).
23 Abuse dope and feel awful (6).
26 A magic formula to gain time (5).
DOWN
1 Shaw's fruity drama (3,5,4).
2 The salesman scoffed about swindle, the scoundrel! (9).
3 This country calls for more drastic policies (9).
4 The writer left a medico to follow (4).
5 Cheap honest? Explain that! (8).
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26 A magic formula to gain time (5).
CLUE: A couple of mothers vote for the cleanest form of water heating (9).

THERMOMAX SOLAR ENERGY
Hot water even on a cloudy day

Thermomax Solar Energy Systems
Blythe, PREPOST, West, Blythe,
SL2 0SE, Tel: 0541 671747

Crossword is on page 9 of the Life & Times section

PARKER DUOFOLD

The solution of

Saturday's Prize

The 5 winners will receive Duofold

fountain pen supplied by Parker

THE TIMES NEWSPEPERS LIMITED, 1992. Published and printed by Times Newspapers Ltd at 1

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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office

Information supplied by Met Office

East and southeast England will begin dry but cloudy, although the extreme south-east may be bright early. Thicker cloud and rain over Scotland, Wales and the rest of England will spread east to remaining areas by afternoon. Brighter weather with showers over Northern Ireland will follow the rain across most parts, but northern Scotland and the far south-east will not clear until well into the night. Outlook unsettled with rain, some heavy.

London 7.43 pm to 6.22 am
Birmingham 7.48 pm to 6.22 am
Edinburgh 6.02 pm to 6.27 am
Manchester 7.54 pm to 6.23 am

Temperatures at midday yesterday: c. cloud, 1. Sun rise: 8.24 am, 2. Sun sets: 7.43 pm
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Birmingham 9.48 am to 8.48 am
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Cardiff 11.52 am to 8.48 am
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• BUSINESS NEWS 21-24
• SPORT 25-30
• RACING 25

THE TIMES BUSINESS

MONDAY APRIL 6 1992

BUSINESS EDITOR JOHN BELL

MAN OF THE WEEK

Testing time for Tories on terrace

As part of the French political reshuffle that saw Pierre Bérégovoy replace Edith Cresson as prime minister, Bernard Tapie, the millionaire owner of Marseilles football club, became minister for urban affairs.

Mr Tapie's appointment may have been quietly noted by Ken Bates, the millionaire owner of Chelsea football club. For Mr Bates sits in the grandstands of power these days. David Mellor, the home office minister, is a regular visitor to Stamford Bridge, as is, when affairs of state allow, John Major, a lifelong Blues fan. A word in the right ear and who knows?

But all that could change on Thursday when Mears, Major and Mellor face the voters and Mr Bates and Chelsea have to produce £25 million or face eviction from Stamford Bridge at the end of the season. For Tory-voting Chelsea fans it will be an anxious 24 hours.

Mr Bates's deadline was set by the Court of Appeal. It chose the tenth anniversary of his buying the then debt-laden club for £1 to give Chelsea seven days to



Bates: pugnacious

pay up or prepare to get out. It looked like a knockout win for Cabra, the owner of Stamford Bridge through its takeover of Mares Estates, the property company that bought the ground in 1983 for £1.25 million.

Those that know say Mr Bates, aged 60 and with a career of trucking and offshore development behind him, will not be reaching for a chequebook on Thursday. But that does not mean to say he is giving up. Persistence is his middle name; it comes between - controversial and pugnacious.

Even though John Duggan, the Cabra chairman, is away on holiday, there are reports that a compromise deal could yet be hammered out its path smoothed by the recent emergence of a Bates-backed company as Cabra's biggest shareholder. If he can secure Stamford Bridge, Mr Bates will win the gratitude of Chelsea's army of fans - with or without a prime minister.

MATTHEW BOND

CHANGE ON WEEK

THE POUND

US dollar
1.7420 (+0.0040)

German mark
2.8386 (-0.0195)

Exchange index
90.0 (-0.2)

Bank of England official
close (4pm)

STOCK MARKET

FT 30 share
1851.4 (-63.5)

FT-SE 100
2382.7 (-65.2)

New York Dow Jones
3249.11 (+17.87)

Tokyo Nikkei Avge
18559.71 (-107.28)

1X

Housing threat to Labour's growth hopes

BY ANATOLE KALETSKY, ECONOMICS EDITOR

THE London housing market could be seriously hit by Labour's tax and national insurance plans.

Previously unpublished official figures show that the market depends heavily on high earners taking out heavy mortgages, which could be most affected by tax increases. The degree to which this affects the economy of the region could be critical to the success of Labour's economic measures.

Independent forecasts released today suggest the economy would grow slightly faster in the first two years of a Labour government than under the Conservatives, unless confidence were undermined. One suggests that a hung parliament would produce a faster recovery than either a Labour or Conservative victory, even before taking account of Paddy Ashdown's pledge to veto Labour's top rate tax.

The forecasts, from the London Business School and the Independent Economic Modeling Group (Item), show Labour's spending plans adding between 0.1 and 0.3 of a percentage point to economic growth in 1992 and 1993. The Item group, which uses the Treasury's economic model, also carried out a separate analysis for a hung parliament. This suggested growth of 0.3 of a percentage point higher under a Labour-

Liberal Democrat coalition than under the Conservatives.

Economists at both Item and LBS made it clear, however, that model-based economic forecasts could be undermined by any unexpected fall in confidence resulting either from financial market uncertainties about a Labour government or the impact of higher taxes on consumer confidence and house prices.

The dangers for the housing market in London and the South-East are underlined by the environment department's sample survey of new mortgages completed in the last quarter of last year.

These normally unpublished figures reveal the London market's heavy dependence on large mortgages, expensive houses and upper income borrowers.

Loans for more than £60,000 accounted for 45.9 per cent of new mortgages in London, compared with a national average of 21.3 per cent, according to the survey.

Almost 11 per cent of new mortgages in London were for more than £100,000 against a national average of 4 per cent. Almost 46 per cent of London borrowers had incomes of more than £25,000 compared with 21 per cent nationally, and 15 per cent of London borrowers had incomes in excess of £40,000.

Most City analysts predict that a Labour or coalition government would have to

C&G society chief's pay breaks the £300,000 level

BY LINDSAY COOK, MONEY EDITOR

A BUILDING society chief executive has broken the £300,000 earnings level for the first time. Andrew Longhurst of the Cheltenham & Gloucester, the sixth-largest society, earned £306,041 last year, more than the chief executives of most high street banks.

The salary package includes a lump-sum performance-related bonus of more than £100,000, which has already been paid and taxed at the current 40 per cent top rate, thus avoiding the possibility of a 59 per cent tax bill under Labour. The C & G raised its profits 27 per cent in 1991 to £185.8 million. Mr Longhurst's salary rose from £265,000 - a 16 per cent increase.

Mr Longhurst celebrated his tenth anniversary as the chief executive of the society on April 1 and in October will have been with the C & G for 25 years. In his ten years at the top, profits have risen tenfold from £18 million.

His nearest building society rival is David O'Brien, of the National & Provincial, who in his first complete year at the eighth-largest society earned £222,000, a basic salary of £185,000 and a bonus of 20 per cent for more than achieving the pay plan target. The society increased profits by 60 per cent to £100 million last year.

At the largest society, the Halifax, Jim Birrell, the chief executive, earned £197,867 and pre-tax profits increased

6 per cent last year. Peter Birch, chief executive of Abbey National, received a £70,806 rise last year, from £19,806 to £261,906. Profits increased 6 per cent to £61.8 million.

The Alliance & Leicester would only give an earnings figure for 1990 when Scott Durward was chief executive of the third-largest society. He earned £203,814. The society's profits fell by 50 per cent last year and Peter White is now chief executive.

At Barclays, one director earned between £410,000 and £415,000 but it was not Sir John Quinton, the chairman, or Andrew Buxton, the managing director. Sir John received a total of £356,357 last year when there was no profit-sharing - a reduction of almost £42,000 on 1990. The annual report says the

CATCHING UP WITH THE BANKS

ORGANISATION	CHIEF EXECUTIVE'S SALARY	PROFIT RISE/ FALL	PRE-TAX PROFIT £m
Building Societies			
Cheltenham & Gloucester	£206,041	Rise 27%	183.8
National & Provincial	£222,000	Rise 50%	100
Alliance & Leicester	£203,814	Fall 50%	99.5
Leeds	£220,186	Rise 11%	190.2
Bradford & Bingley	£197,867	Rise 6%	62.8
Midland	£190,000	Rise 10%	140
Nationwide	£182,000	Fall 20%	138.4
Bristol & West	£183,000	Rise 21.8%	284.7
Britannia	£165,588	Rise 11%	67.4
Banks	£132,000	Fall 13%	64
Highest Salary			
Barcays	£410,000	Fall 30%	533
NatWest	£388,155	Fall 75%	110
Midland	£295,703	Rise 55%	95
Lloyds	£270,000	Rise 8%	645
Abbey National	£261,906	Rise 5%	618

highest paid company directors. The European Bank, one of the more lucrative places to work in London, has average direct staff costs of £58,000.

The umbrella body sets the scales for organisations as distinct as the OECD.

Nato, the Council of Europe, the Long-

Range Weather Forecasting Organis-

ation, and the European Space Agency.

The lowest pay scale in the adminis-

trative category, A1, which applies, for

example, to a junior graduate, is

£19,500 to £20,100 per tax depen-

dence more or less than performance.

If these graduate trainees were employed

in any British company or organisation,

they would have to earn almost £30,000

(in case of a single person) to be as well off.

A mid-ranking single official on A4.

say a space agency manager, would be

on a net annual income of between

£35,900 and £47,400. For a single per-

son in normal employment to achieve

the same net pay, gross annual earnings

would have to be between £55,000 and £75,000, again without taking into account allowances. Under Mr Smith, the person at the top of the range would need nearly £95,000 before tax.

The generosity of international institutions tapers off, however, when it reaches the top earners. On A7, director level, the range is £53,700 to £64,500, the equivalent of £85,000 to £100,000 before British tax for a single person. At the top of that range, the equivalent on Mr Smith's tax rates would be about £137,000.

The scales for the European Commission are in inverse order, with A1 the highest and A8 the lowest. A8 is £26,300 to £32,300, equivalent to up to £50,000 before tax in Britain under Mr Lamont, or perhaps £57,000 under Mr Smith. The top range for Brussels civil servants is £62,300 to £73,100, equivalent to between £100,000 and £120,000 before tax in Britain. And that is under Norman Lamont's tax rates.

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UN blames ignorance for slump in east Europe

By WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU
EUROPEAN BUSINESS CORRESPONDENT

A UNITED Nations report has blamed the ignorance of western advisers as well as dogmatic politicians for a slump in east European countries "which appears to be on the scale of the depression of the 1930s".

In its annual *Economic Survey of Europe*, the UN's Economic Commission for Europe said western economists not only failed to comprehend the social and political dynamism that led to the overthrow of the communist regimes, but continued to show ignorance in the subsequent period.

The report said: "The revolutions were quickly followed by western advisers explaining why there was 'no alternative' to doing this or that if the transition to a market economy were to be successful, and by politicians declaring that the transition would be swift and painless."

The conclusion amounted to a thinly veiled attack on the radical reform policies of, among others, Vaclav Klaus, the Czechoslovak finance minister, one of the most radical free-market politician in eastern Europe, and of Professor Jeffrey Sachs, the shock-therapy guru and previously an adviser to the Polish and Russian governments.

The report claimed that the population in eastern Europe received the wrong signals from over-optimistic politicians, which resulted in the creation of false expectations. The slump in eastern German output, which led to an "unexpected escalation in the budgetary costs" was cited as a prime example of this misplaced optimism.

The potential implication of this failure could be serious. "Once filled with hope,

the countries in transition have increasingly become an area of disillusion, anxiety and socio-political tensions."

The report claimed: "Many of the people in these countries must now be wondering whether the invisible hand of the market is really an iron fist."

Figures show that industrial output was sharply down all over eastern Europe last year: 27 per cent in Bulgaria, 23 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 14-16 per cent in Hungary and 12 per cent in Poland. The Yugoslav economy virtually collapsed with gross domestic product down 28 per cent and inflation up 184 per cent. The highest annual inflation rate was recorded in Bulgaria, 474 per cent, while Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary all had double-digit inflation rates.

The report did not make any specific forecasts for this year, but said that "economic prospects for east European countries for 1992 remain bleak and uncertain". Poland and Hungary might see a modest upturn in the second half, but there remained the danger that "reform fatigue" could delay the recovery.

The commission's criticism is especially fierce on privatisation. "The speed of privatisation, which might satisfy democratic and political objectives could be too fast for avoiding deleterious economic outcomes." Privatisation should only proceed after the monopolies of the former centrally planned economies are broken up.

Market access to western Europe and the establishment of stabilisation funds are cited as vital ingredients for the reform process to succeed.



All this and stamps too: John Roberts outside the Ryman Post Office franchise in High Holborn, London

Post Office betting on lottery trade

COUNTERS, the high street outlets arm of the Post Office, could add substantially to its profits by taking a leading role in operating the proposed national lottery (Derek Harris writes).

It is estimated the lottery cash flow would be £3 billion a year with administration accounting for about a third. Whatever the next government's political colour, it is expected to opt for a lottery because the single market would open up Britain to competition from lotteries run in other EC countries.

John Roberts, managing director of Post Office Counters, is to make a strong bid for the lottery business. He

sees it as the icing on what he plans as a much bigger Post Office retailing cake. As part of a £54 million refurbishment of the UK's 1,100 main post offices, a network of "postshops" is being created. These are shops within shops, selling stationery and greeting cards.

An increasing number of key retailers including supermarkets and high street chains are also operating post offices on their premises in franchising deals. There are now 27 such franchised post offices around the country and Mr Roberts expects to have 50 within a year.

Ryman, the stationery chain arm of Pentos, has three post offices operating

experimentally, two of them in central London and the other at Southampton. Argyl's Safeway has seven and nine retail Co-ops are also involved with Sainsbury also trying one out at a Savacentre. Littlewoods, Thomas Cook and Budgens also have trials.

Mr Roberts believes the new, bigger stores will make the best fit for post offices. Already the high street post office network is Europe's largest retailing business, serving 25 million customers a week through the main post offices and 19,000 smaller ones. The network's size makes it a natural choice as a lottery operator, he adds.

In December 1990, De Beers initiated a deal with Angola and Endiama, the Angolan state diamond marketing arm, that involved a \$50 million advance to help to develop the Cuango diamond fields, and embraced an intention to spend a further \$50 million on an exploration programme.

In return, De Beers would be granted agreement to sell Angolan production through its CSD network. But the illicit trading could call into question any further Angolan investment by De Beers.

Traders say the fluid political climate ahead of Angolan elections in September and the proclamation of a law allowing citizens to market and possess diamonds and precious metals "as long as they have been acquired outside mining areas granted to companies" have caused problems. The standing down of the army in some

BAe boosted by more Saudi contracts

By GILLIAN BOWDITCH

SAUDI Arabia's decision to go ahead with a £1.5 billion extension to its wide-ranging Al Yamamah defence contract is expected to benefit most of Britain's big defence companies and will come as a great relief to British Aerospace, the main contractor.

The £20 billion ten-year contract is funded by the production of 500,000 barrels of

Saudi Arabian oil a day and there is speculation that the Saudi Arabian Government may soon increase its daily funding of the contract.

British Aerospace, the British company expected to benefit most from the extra cash injection, said yesterday that it was delighted to hear about the additional funding. "This is a big step forward," said a spokeswoman. The group is now awaiting a decision as to

what the Saudi Arabia's additional requirements will be.

The spokeswoman said

there was no timescale for the decision. "We do not put our customers under a time pressure," she said. But analysts expect a Saudi order for 48 Tornado IDS fighter bombers to be top of the list. Other priorities are believed to be 60 Hawk trainer fighters, construction of airbases and minesweepers. BAe shares

have suffered recently on fears that Al Yamamah orders may be delayed and this weekend's news is expected to give them a boost. On Friday

they closed down 1p at 299p. The group's shares have languished since the £430 million rights issue last year which was largely left with the underwriters. At that time Sir Graham Day took over as acting chairman and Professor Sir Roland Smith resigned.

Buyers beware the chicken factor

Each day the chicken awakes to see the sun shining. A hand would reach over the fence to place a plate of corn on the ground for the chicken to eat. It was a comfortable life and the chicken had no reason to think it would not continue forever. Unfortunately, this conclusion was wrong. One day the hand reached over and wrung its neck.

Sterling has certainly been remarkably stable in the run-up to the election, but investors who conclude from this that sterling is safe might end up like the chicken. Just because something has not yet happened does not mean it never will.

The authorities here and in the rest of the European exchange-rate mechanism were not going to allow a sterling crisis before the general election. But afterwards attitudes will change. For example, the Spanish are not likely to be happy if sterling weakness continues to pull down the peseta. I suspect the Conservatives will be ousted on Thursday and this will result in renewed downward pressure on the pound.

The real problem for John Smith, the shadow chancellor, if he arrives at Number 11, is not that the pound will

drop outside its ERM band — the Bank of England has \$44 billion of reserves to support sterling — but that he would need to build credibility rapidly if he is to fund Labour's spending plans.

There have been no gilt issues since the Budget and the authorities slightly underfunded in 1991-2. There

is a real risk that any new gilt issue would meet a "buyers' strike" while there remain doubts about sterling's position within the ERM. Moreover, in 1993, the PSBR under a Labour government is likely to rise to at least £40 billion. That will mean net gilt issuance will exceed British institutions' cash flow. Thus, Labour would depend on foreign investors if public spending is not to crowd out private investment completely. To convince foreigners to buy gilts, Mr Smith needs to build ERM credibility.

But how does one build credibility? Certainly Mr Smith will be reluctant to push up base rates. Indeed, he would prefer to cut them if Labour is a minority government or has only a small majority. But this will be obvious to the markets. Thus, his stated commitment to the ERM will

not carry any weight because the markets will not believe it will be backed by action. More bullish commentators argue that investors will believe Mr Smith because of the example set by the French socialist government. But they have always been willing to raise interest rates to defend the franc.

Adding to Mr Smith's difficulties, the near-term outlook for the economy is dire. Even if Labour succeeded in avoiding a base rate increase, I doubt they would be able to flatten the money market yield curve. Three-month money rates are about 11 per cent, well above base rates, and there is a strong possibility that mortgage rates will have to rise.

In addition, while Labour's tax plans are theoretically fiscally neutral, the element of income redistribution (worth about £5 billion) is a dangerous measure in the middle of the recession. Uncertainty, the likelihood of a mortgage rate rise, more weakness in the housing market and the impact of big cuts in the disposable income of high-earners — which will filter down to other parts of the economy — all seem set to delay the recovery at the very least. Even if

the pound survives the first few weeks of a new government, the risk is that as the months pass and it becomes clear the economy is still stagnant, there will be renewed calls for devaluation.

S peculation about devaluation will be heightened by two other factors. First, elements of the Tory party would blame its defeat on the ERM. The argument would be that, had Norman Lamont not been constrained as Chancellor by the ERM, he could have implemented the base rate cuts necessary to ensure victory. Call for a reassessment of Britain's links with Europe will be coming from all corners of the House. Second, I envisage another hike in German rates this year.

The gilt market would normally welcome further economic weakness and continued high interest rates. However, the problem is that the threat of devaluation will remain in investors' minds. It would take Mr Smith at least six months to build credibility and during this time gilt investors will demand a substantial yield premium.

GLENN DAVIES
Credit Lyonnais

SMALLER COMPANIES

Wightman works a DIY miracle at Welpac

THE housing market might be moribund and retail demand sluggish but Welpac, a supplier of do-it-yourself products, is managing to buck the trend.

Despite its depressed sector and the potentially damaging impact of a rights issue and a placing in less than one year, Welpac's shares have more than doubled, from 10p in June 1991 to 23p. Don

Wightman was appointed chief executive in February last year, and his efforts to refocus the business and strengthen the balance sheet have earned institutional support.

His arrival was followed by a £2.4 million rights issue in June and an agreement with Stanley Works, of America, for the exclusive supply of Stanley hardware products in

Britain. Last month, Mr Wightman returned to the City to raise £3.45 million via a placing and open offer to fund two acquisitions and establish a joint venture supplying Stanley products in Germany. More than 25 million shares were the subject of the offer, on a one-for-2.2 basis at 19p a share, and the issue was over-subscribed.

Welpac paid an initial £925,000 for Anderson & Firmin, a supplier of gardening hardware products, and a 40 per cent interest in Kibro Elbert Glove, a manufacturer of gardening gloves. The second acquisition is of TJ Hardwood, a supplier of door furniture and other hardware, for an initial consideration of £750,000.

In Germany, a joint venture agreement was signed with Braunkamm & Probsting, a hardware supplier.

Welpac is expected to report a small loss for the year to

January 31, but should earn profits of about £1.2 million in the current year as the benefits of acquisitions and restructuring come through, even if consumer demand remains weak.

Martin Barrow

Wightman: refocused

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MARTIN BARROW

WIGHTMAN

McGraw, the specialist engineering group, is expected to report final pre-tax profits of £92 million, against £94.1 million last year, as the hotel group is insulated by its strong continental interests. Market forecasts range from £88 million to £93 million. Earnings per share of 7.5p (8.5p) are predicted, although the dividend should rise to 2.9p (2.6p).

Tesco, the supermarket group, should unveil an advance in its final pre-tax profits to £545 million (£417 million), after allowing for £90 million (£63 million) of

retirement provisions. The

supermarket group, should

have held up well, with both

offshore supply and towage

performing well.

Interim: Copper (Frederick), Jersey Electricity Company.

Finals: Blyth, Bodycote International, Brammer, Calm Energy,

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Beers buys stolen gems

BY LINDA CORRIGAN

London's brewing industry is in a state of flux. The latest development is that the British Beer and Pub Association (BBPA) has agreed to sell its 50 per cent stake in the British Beer and Pub Association to the London-based investment firm of Sir David Walker, chairman of the Securities and Investments Board. The deal is expected to be completed by the end of the month.

Muddy Fox bicycle group sold

The Muddy Fox bicycle group has been sold to a new owner. The group, which includes the Muddy Fox brand, has been sold to a new owner. The group, which includes the Muddy Fox brand, has been sold to a new owner.

Salary cut

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Inflation hits

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trend with in figures

Dangers lurk in the soft option

When Sir David Walker, chairman of the Securities and Investments Board, first looked at soft commission arrangements for stock exchange trading by fund managers, it appeared an obscure issue of minor importance. By the start of this year, up to a sixth of deals were covered by soft commission arrangements and the SIB seemed to be staring at a logical choice between banning the practice or undoing one of the basic 1986 Big Bang reforms — the bringing together of brokers and market-makers — to prevent abuse. Even self-regulation could now be at stake.

On Friday, Sir David, who is clearing his desk before his departure to Lloyds Bank and who has become thoroughly fed up with the whole matter, announced that he had put the lid back on this dangerous box. Having made a core rule to cover "softening" a year ago and conducted a confusing consultation exercise this year, the SIB announced that, unless there are significant new developments, it "does not envisage a further review of the rule".

You can see Sir David's point. Undoing the reforms would threaten London's competitiveness. Banning the practice would hit the very people complaining loudest about abuses. Soft commissions started in America as a marketing tool for stockbrokers after a price war. Having driven down their costs on a basic dealing service, a new breed of brokers offered services such as information systems or independent research reports, free of charge in exchange for a guaranteed flow of orders.

This seemed sensible but raised a potential conflict of interest. The fund managers get free services but investors in the funds pay the commission, so the professionals might be tempted to deal too much. After the system crossed the Atlantic, potential conflicts became much greater when integrated securities houses undercut the soft commission brokers with their own soft deals. The securities houses had an obligation to deal at the best available price, but this only meant the best price published on the exchange's electronic screens. Many deals are negotiated at finer prices. The investor therefore might have to pay wider spreads to pay for the benefits to fund managers.

Sir David believes that if London is to maintain its primacy as a clean but dynamic financial centre, innovations brought by market forces should be regulated rather than banned. The SIB ruled out services such as disguised free holidays and said integrated houses could offer softening deals only if they charge commission. This rule has only recently wound its way fully through the regulatory system, so its workings are unproven. The practice has, however, mushroomed since the SIB restricted it.

The SIB's attempt to end the softening debate might have succeeded had not Peter Rawlins, chief executive of the London Stock Exchange, issued a public call to fund managers to end the practice. "To the average man, if people want a service they should be prepared to pay visibly for it," Mr Rawlins told the annual conference of pension fund managers. Sir David was not pleased, particularly over the context in which Mr Rawlins chose to condemn soft commissions. It was he had said, an example of a practice that failed the smell test and the greatest threat to self-regulation would be "a perception that the practitioner-regulators are tied up in their own vested interests".

Mr Rawlins said the investment community should end softening of its own accord. Under self-regulation, that must mean through its own rules. To suggest, as the SIB has done, that pension fund trustees should vet a practice that the SIB has failed to come to terms with after many years of effort is absurd. Fans of statutory control could hardly be offered more potent ammunition.

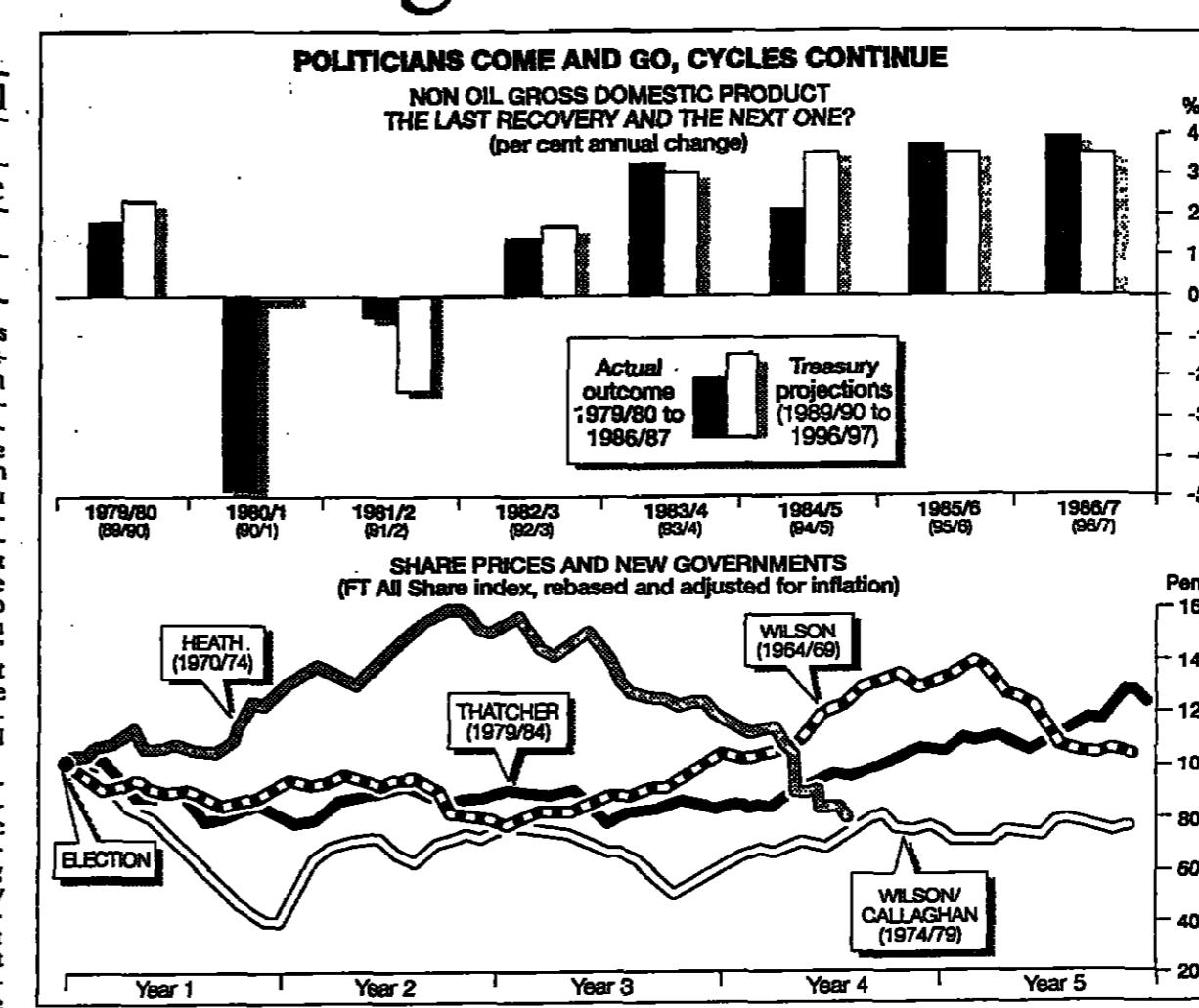
A Liberal-Labour coalition could still meet both parties' goals for economic growth, writes Anatole Kaletsky

One word has changed the outlook for the British economy and the financial markets after the general election. Last week, *The Times* asked Paddy Ashdown a straight question: "Will you give an unequivocal commitment that you will vote against a Finance Bill or Budget Resolution that contains the National Insurance and top tax rates proposed in John Smith's Shadow Budget?" Mr Ashdown gave a straight answer: "Yes". That single word could transform Britain's economic and financial prospects after April 9.

In principle, the next government should face a reasonably favourable economic prospect. The recovery projected by the Treasury is long overdue and would be entirely consistent with historical experience, as the top chart shows. As the lower chart suggests, stock market returns in the long term have not been very different under Labour and Tory governments and business might not have much to fear from the election in the long term.

Yet because of John Smith's budget proposals, Labour could face even more pressure and hostility from the markets and business community than in 1974 and 1984. This would not be just a matter of prejudice or pique. Although Mr Smith certainly wants to hit businessmen and City dealers where it hurts with his punitive taxes, there are also objective reasons for financial anxiety about his budget.

The Smith budget would not only redistribute income between social classes. It would shake up the structure of regional and industrial employment and demand. Econometric models suggest that, on balance, the redistribution proposed by Mr Smith could raise Britain's employment and output, but what they do not reveal is whether the mechanical demand effects of taking money from the rich, relatively high savers, and giving it to the government and pensioners, relatively high spenders, would be overwhelmed by less tangible depressing factors. These would include the possible drop in confidence among indebted homeowners and the inevitable supply side disruptions when unemployed waiters in London or redundant Jaguar



workers in Coventry have to find jobs as hospital porters in Manchester or Nissan workers in the North-East.

Labour's economists may put their faith in the models, but they ignore financial sentiment at their peril, especially if their party fails to win an outright majority. If the City and business community feel Labour's tax policies are damaging Britain's growth prospects, their prophecies could become self-fulfilling. Alarm would spread about the party's ability to stay in the ERM and simultaneously arrange the early economic recovery needed for re-election. To defend sterling, Labour might raise interest rates, but that would only give another twist to the vicious circle of low growth, political pressures for inflation, dwindling financial confidence and still higher interest rates.

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workers in Coventry have to find jobs as hospital porters in Manchester or Nissan workers in the North-East.

more probably, that Labour refused to deal on PR and instead tried to run a minority government. With the Liberals committed to voting down Mr Smith's budget, a minority Labour government would face defeat on its Finance Bill — an issue of confidence that would lead to the government's resignation.

The alternative for a minority government would be to do as Labour did several times in the Seventies: talk to the third party and offer a budget package Mr Ashdown could at least abstain on and possibly support. In the process, Labour could wriggle out of their most foolish and economically risky tax plans.

To devise a sensible package combining Liberal and Labour manifesto commitments would be surprisingly easy. Such a package could raise enough money to pay for Mr Smith's spending pledges, yet spread the costs

more painfully than his original tax plan. The key elements of such a package might be: Labour would implement all Mr Smith's shadow budget plans except for the extension of National Insurance contributions, creating a top tax band of 50 per cent instead of 59 per cent. This would leave the government short of £2.7 billion in a full year. To meet Mr Smith's justified claim that marginal tax rates should not be allowed to fall suddenly above the £21,060 National Insurance limit, the government would introduce a new 35 per cent intermediate tax band, stretching from taxable incomes of £17,500 (equivalent to £23,700, where the present tax band begins) to £21,060. Hardly a sensible package, yet spreading the costs

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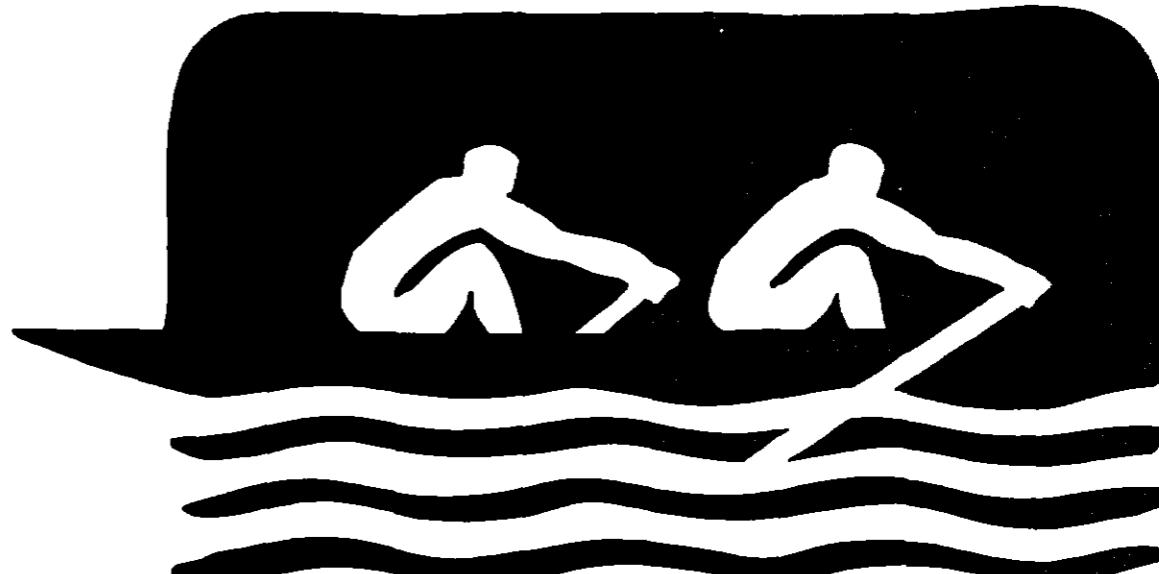
same level in real terms as under Denis Healey in 1978-9. It would affect only a small fraction of the people hit by Mr Smith's present plan for a combined tax and National Insurance rate of 59 per cent on incomes as low as £40,000. Yet, according to Inland Revenue calculations, such a band would raise revenue of £1.2 billion.

Labour would still get its 60 percent top marginal tax rate and have the satisfaction of punishing the biggest beneficiaries of Thatcherism. The Lib Dems could justifiably claim to have defended the middle classes against expropriative taxes. They might also extract a pledge from Labour to raise the 50 and 60 per cent in the long term, and introduce a lower rate for long-term capital gains, as the remaining anomalies and allowances in the tax system were removed.

As under Mr Smith's original proposals, people earning less than £21,060 would be unaffected. But the potential losses for professionals and managers higher up the income scale would be spectacularly reduced. The maximum annual loss for anyone earning up to £40,000 would be £620, instead of £1,700 under Labour's plan. At £60,000, the compromise plan would cost £3,700, instead of £5,500. In fact, everyone earning up to £150,000 a year would be better off under the Lib-Lab plan.

How could the Lib-Lab tax plan raise the same revenue as Mr Smith's proposal, yet leave so many fewer losers? The answer lies in the Liberals' most important contribution to the tax debate — their insistence that tax and National Insurance be integrated into a single, equitable system. By failing to apply its National Insurance surcharge to investment and self-employed incomes, Labour is forgoing large amounts of revenue from the genuinely rich and creating a tax system more onerous for the middle class than those that existed under Mr Healey and Nigel Lawson — and threatening economic recovery. Mr Ashdown would offer a Labour government the perfect excuse to get itself off this hook and safeguard its economic hopes into the bargain.

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THE TIMES CITY DIARY

Dark horse at Lloyds

ONE of Lloyds Bank's most closely guarded secrets is out. The famed black horse of its lavish advertising series is not black at all, but a dark bay. The horse, Kustos, has been traced by the *City Diary* to stables near Lymington in the New Forest, where it is kept safely away from prying eyes. Emerging from its haven for a breath of air, the frisky beast seemed ready to gallop off across the open fields in the style of the television commercial, which shows off its flowing black locks to the tune of *Sleepers Awake* by Bach. Asked what magic transforms it into the sleek, jet-black creature of the advertisements, the handlers were most forthcoming. After a good grooming to bring out the shine, the hapless nag is dosed with liberal quantities of cod-liver oil. Lloyds, meanwhile, insist that there are in fact several "black" horses dotted around the country with names like Cancara, Beano and so on. As if we would believe such a thing.

Coining it

THE changes sweeping the former Soviet Union are proving highly profitable for De La Rue, the world's largest supplier of banknotes and passports. The company has just won a contract to supply nearly 5 million passports for the newly independent Lithuania, and it seems a fair bet that its sisters in the Commonwealth of Independent States will be keen to follow suit. Since Lithuania has only 3.7 million residents, could it be setting itself up as a "black market" centre for travel doc-



"In a hung parliament, which party should hang first?"

ments? Certainly not, says David Rigg, De La Rue's director of commercial development, who points out that millions of Lithuanians live in America, Canada and Australia. "Only a small part of the consignment will be for domestic consumption." Given the rocky state of finances in the Baltic, one wonders if President Landsbergis and his ministers were obliged to pay cash up front. Rigg insists there is no problem with payment and he should know. De La Rue printed Lithuania's banknotes in the Twenties and Thirties.

North and South

AS IF we have not had enough polls to contend with in the past few weeks, Laurentian Financial, the investment and life assurance group, has joined the fun to help celebrate its 60th year in the UK. The results confirm what we always suspected: Londoners are a miserable bunch. Residents of the capital think that life was more enjoyable 60 years ago, while natives of Yorkshire and

Humbershire think they are far better off today. "We were poor but happy in 1931," says one ancient resident of Craydon. "Nowadays people are rich, unhappy and greedy." Those "up North" say they are happier because they have more money and a greater variety of entertainment. As a Knaresborough woman put it: "I couldn't join the brownies because of lack of money." Whity here we come....

Grudge match

SKI holidays are not always as glamorous as they are made out to be, as one London couple found to their cost recently. Derek Goudge set out for a week's skiing in Kitzbühel, Austria, last month, with Nielson, the ski package holiday operator, and found all was not to their liking. After taking four hours to complete a 20-minute toboggan run, Goudge and his girlfriend were left standing in a bus for an hour en route to the airport due to lack of space. On their return, he wrote to complain, and received a reply that was lacking in one small detail. It was addressed to Mr Grudge.

Trading places

A CAREER with the London Stock Exchange can lead on to all manner of appointments. Hard to beat is the case of Michele Taikie, popular press officer at the tower, who leaves on Wednesday after four years on Throgmorton Street. Taikie, aged 27, flies home to her native Mauritius at the end of the week — just in time for her marriage to Allan Smith, a local solicitor, but there will be little time for lazing on the beach. Soon after, she is due to jet on to

JON ASHWORTH

Portfolio

PLATINUM

From your Portfolio Platinum card check your eight share price movements on this page and add them up to give you your total gain or loss. This is the figure in the dividend figure. If it matches you have won outright or a share of the daily prize money. Once you have won, you can then follow the procedure on the back of your card. Always have your card available when claiming. Game rules appear on the back of your card.

No	Company	Group	Gain or loss
1	FTI	Electrical	
2	Grundfahl	Industrial	
3	TIP Europe	Transport	
4	Resolute	Industrial	
5	Headline	Shares/Ltd	
6	Brunel Cast	Oil/Gas	
7	Granaia	Industrial	
8	Trustpower	Electrical	
9	Concor	Transport	
10	Hawke's Holdings	Industrial	
11	Wynotts	Drapery/Stm	
12	Ulf Blomius	Foods	
13	Opel/Suzuki	Industrial	
14	Brown (N)	Drapery/Stm	
15	LSI Pathology	Industrial	
16	Comcast	Industrial	
17	St Modwen Ppl	Property	
18	Oil/Gas		
19	Tatwest	Foods	
20	Braemar	Industrial	
21	Cossor	Building/Rds	
22	Boco (Henry)	Building/Rds	
23	Transfor Tech	Industrial	
24	Redchim	Industrial	
25	Plascon	Electrical	
26	West	Drapery/Stm	
27	Wimpey	Drapery/Stm	
28	Stamps	Industrial	
29	Caledron Roy	Building/Rds	
30	Cadbury-Schwe	Foods	
31	Ramex	Building/Rds	
32	Loc Refrig	Electrical	
33	Mind	Electrical	
34	Eve Group	Building/Rds	
35	BNI Res	Paper/Print	
36	Shinebright	Industrial	
37	Trinity Ind	Newspaper/Pub	
38	MATL Int	Electrical	
39	WPP	Paper/Print	
40	BWV	Industrial	
41	Blomster Mar	Motors/Air	
42	Br Aerospace	Motors/Air	
43	Pilk	Electrical	
44	Hodkin Bros	Breweries	
45	Times Newspapers Ltd.	Times	

Please take into account any minus signs

Weekly Dividend					
Please make a note of your daily goals for the weekly dividend of £5,000 in Saturday's newspaper.					
MON	TUE	WED	THU	FRI	SAT
Wkly Total					

There were no valid claims for the weekly Portfolio Platinum prize of £4,000.

No	Company	Price	Wkly	No	Yd
1	ABP	263	-	0	0
2	ABP	263	-	0	0
3	ABP	263	-	0	0
4	ABP	263	-	0	0
5	ABP	263	-	0	0
6	ABP	263	-	0	0
7	ABP	263	-	0	0
8	ABP	263	-	0	0
9	ABP	263	-	0	0
10	ABP	263	-	0	0
11	ABP	263	-	0	0
12	ABP	263	-	0	0
13	ABP	263	-	0	0
14	ABP	263	-	0	0
15	ABP	263	-	0	0
16	ABP	263	-	0	0
17	ABP	263	-	0	0
18	ABP	263	-	0	0
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113	ABP	263	-	0	0
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115	ABP	263	-	0	0
116	ABP	263	-	0	0

rs buys
en gems

TING CORRESPONDENT

areas has aggravated the situation and trading diamonds for arms is not unknown. That Angelo's still mega-diamond output is not yet being officially claimed is true. In 1989, production was 1.3 million carats, while in 1990, it was 1.2 million carats. Production is so far this year, however, is a little trouble.

Rockawhile to extend Cecil's fine record

HENRY Cecil has won the last three runnings of the Bluebell Fillies Stakes at Wolverhampton, and today's race may again turn out to be significant.

The meeting was abandoned last spring and, in 1989 because of a water-logged course, but his three previous winners were Indian Skimmer (87), Guid The Lily (88) and Madame Dubois (90).

While pride of place obviously goes to Indian Skimmer, who went on to score the heights, Madame Dubois was no mean performer.

After opening her account at the midlands course, she went on to win four of her six remaining races, culminating with that hauline victory in the Prix de Royaumont at Longchamp at the Arc meeting.

Pat Eddery, who was on Madame Dubois that day, has now been booked to ride Rockawhile (4.30), Cecil's latest contender.

While understandably reluctant to compare her with the other winners from Warren Place, George Robinson, our Newmarket correspondent, said yesterday that Rockawhile goes pretty nicely at home and that she should win.

A daughter of Dancing Brave, she is out of a mare by Lord Gayle whose stock have invariably relished soft ground. And soft it will be.

Those who prefer to pin their faith on proven deeds

MICHAEL PHILLIPS

rather than speculation will side with Flourishing, who made a winning debut on this same course last July before finishing fourth in the May Hill Stakes at Doncaster.

However, Rockawhile should win today as she will be receiving weight from Flourishing.

In my view, the latter winner, Francis Norton, has a better chance of winning the Daffodil Handicap on.

Rashness, who was beaten by 1.5 lengths in the May Hill Stakes at Doncaster.

However, Rockawhile should win today as she will be receiving weight from

Flourishing.

length and the same behind Educated Pet and Inswinger.

At Rockawhile's last start, Norton claimed his allowance, Rashness will be meeting Educated Pet on 5lb better terms now, and that should tilt the scales in his favour.

The Hyacinth Handicap

is 6.5lb to Madame, who con-

sidered a decent bet.

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Flourishing.

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Portsmouth stumble in sight of the finishing post as FA Cup semi-final goes to a replay

Barnes delivers the saving grace

Liverpool 1
 Portsmouth 1
 (aet: score at 90min: 0-0)

By STUART JONES
 FOOTBALL CORRESPONDENT

GRAEME Souness sank to his knees, clasped his hands and gave thanks to the heavens above. A season, which has been torn apart by injuries, was on the verge of ending amid comparative ignominy at Highbury yesterday when Liverpool found relief at the end of extra time.

Reduced to ten men through further misfortune, Steve McManaman having to leave the field after a late challenge from John Beresford, they were three minutes from defeat in the FA Cup semi-final. For the first time in two decades Liverpool were about to complete successive seasons without a trophy. Then they were spared, however temporarily, by the talent of John Barnes.

"The one thing you shouldn't do is give Barnes a free kick in that position," Jim Smith, the Portsmouth manager, said. "I thought he might hit it against the wall. In fact, I was praying that he would." Instead, it was the prayers of Souness that were answered.

At Highbury. Att: 41,869. Ref: M Bodenham
 HT: 0-0. LIVERPOOL 1
 after extra time
 Scorers: Whelan 117
 Bookings: Whelan 22, Rush 105
 Subs: Venison 45 (Burrows)
 Marsh 88 (Houghton)

LIVERPOOL (4-4-2) PORTSMOUTH (4-4-2)
 Shots (on target/total) 6 17 6 13
 Corners (left/right) 6 5 2 4
 Crosses (left/right) 23 25 15 30
 Free kicks/balls against 16 - 15 -
 Offsides 3 - 9 -
 Possession (gained/lost) 57 113 40 113

Portsmouth, having defended nobly and efficiently for almost two hours, were attempting to protect a lead established minutes before by Anderson when Nicol set off on a run born of desperation. It was halted illegitimately on the edge of the area by Awford, aged 19, whose contribution was otherwise flawless.

The ball was built but Barnes, who is capable of lifting a ball over any obstruction and making it dip sharply on the other side, ignored it. Nonchalantly, he carried out the obvious threat and although Knight pushed his free kick on to a post, Whelan rolled in the rebound.

"The one thing you shouldn't do is give Barnes a free kick in that position," Jim Smith, the Portsmouth manager, said. "I thought he might hit it against the wall. In fact, I was praying that he would." Instead, it was the prayers of Souness that were answered.

Yet he will suffer from a familiar complaint for the replay at Villa Park next Monday. McManaman, who was carried away on a stretcher, is today to have an operation on a damaged cartilage and Burrows was withdrawn during the interval complaining of a pulled hamstring. Nor will Barnes be fully fit.

Another will suffer the effects of a tight hamstring, he will miss both of Liverpool's fixtures this week. Souness said his inclusion was worth the risk because "he can produce that one bit of magic".

So can Anderson, aged 20. Liverpool have been watching him regularly all season but, in the 110th minute, their defenders were not sufficiently alert to the danger he might pose. Accelerating on to Neil's long through-ball, he maintained his composure as a posse of pursuers closed in. Grobbelaar reached but could not stop a drive struck with rare precision. Had Portsmouth matched Anderson's accuracy, there would be no need for next week's visit to Villa's beach of a pitch.

"If we had the confidence and belief in our finishing as we did in the rest of our play, we could have been two up at half-time," Smith said. He was not exaggerating. For all of Liverpool's possession, Portsmouth fashioned the clearer opportunities, which were scored by McLoughlin, Kuhl, Aspinall and Clarke.

Houghton and Nicol had to clear off the line from Clarke and Grobbelaar, twisting in mid-air, acrobatically pawed away another goal-bound shot from McLoughlin. On the occasions, Liverpool's goalkeeper had to advance far outside his area to break up menacing counter-attacks.

Only when Portsmouth tired were they penetrated by opponents who had been forced to move sideways. When, belatedly, Liverpool followed a more direct route, Rush struck the bar with an opportunistic volley.



Call to arms: Whelan celebrates his goal yesterday with Thomas and Rush

Tottenham overdo welcome

Tottenham Hotspur 2
 Aston Villa 5

By NICHOLAS HARLING

WHEN Nigel Spink, the Aston Villa goalkeeper, talked of teams enjoying visits to White Hart Lane, he meant it in the purest footballing sense. But Villa, more than anybody else, have enjoyed the hospitality of Tottenham Hotspur this season.

And how Tottenham have suffered. Just when it looked as if they were recovering from a season that had lost its

meaning with the failure, against Villa, of their FA Cup defence, along came Villa again to inflict the heaviest of all 11 home League defeats.

From 2-0 up Tottenham, for whom Linke missed a penalty, went 5-2 down, and that against a side that had not scored an away League goal since New Year's day, took bit of doing, even by their standards.

Tottenham's collapse was aggravated by the loss, with an ankle injury, of Durie, the creator of the first goal, for Linke. He is doubtful for tomorrow's visit to Notts. Referee: R Groves

Tottenham's lead, including an inadvertent contribution from Teale, was wiped out from close range by Richardson and Olney, and Yorke's drive in-off a post. Daley and Regis sauntered through for further goals with the Spurs defence in disarray.

TOTTENHAM HOTSPUR (1) 2
 Aston Villa (1) 5
 Scorers: Teale, Edwards, A Gray, J Curdy, P McManaman, D Houghton, S. Kehinde, P Allen, ASTON VILLA: G. Durie, E. Burrows, S. Yorke, J. Linke, T. McManaman, K. Richardson, J. Rush, S. Regis, M. Thomas, B. Venison, W. Aspinall, G. Whittingham

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Wednesday lifted

LEEDS United's defeat at Maine Road led many, including the bookmakers, to hand the first division title to Manchester United (Peter Bell writes). There is still time for Sheffield, Wednesday to have a say in things, their win at Notts Forest on Saturday putting them seven points behind the leaders.

As tiredness took its toll on Forest, Carlton Palmer set up the first goal for Paul Williams. Hirst gave Wednesday their second.

Arsenal are five points further away, and have probably left it too late for any serious challenge, but once again

they claimed a useful away victory without impressing. Kevin Campbell's goal leaving Coventry still not completely clear of relegation worries. Nor are Oldham, but Southampton went closer to safety when they beat Queen's Park Rangers. Shearer claiming the winner from the penalty spot.

For a team needing a win to preserve any real hope of avoiding relegation, West Ham United gave an oddy lifeless performance at Chelsea, and might have lost by a wider margin than the 2-1 scoreline suggested.

Five points below the safety line in the first division, their situation seems hopeless. But this is Luton. You can tie them to the foot of the table

Luton slacken their bonds

Luton Town 2
 Wimbledon 1

By PETER ROBINSON

IF HOUDINI were alive today, he would almost certainly be a Luton supporter. Here is the club to fascinate the great escape artist; each act of brinkmanship followed by another, even more challenging, even more unlikely.

Five points below the safety line in the first division, their situation seems hopeless. But this is Luton. You can tie them to the foot of the table

and strap them into a financial straitjacket but still they wriggle free. Four times in the last ten seasons Luton have won their final League game to avoid the drop.

Victory over Wimbledon has been helped, obviously. Three points are a godsend when you are in Luton's predicament and, had they lost, even Houdini might have worried. Wimbledon stole the lead after six minutes through Farashan but Varadi, on loan from Leeds United, equalised unceremoniously after 27 minutes. Preec's 63rd-minute winner crowned the best move of the game.

David Pleat, the Luton manager, was understandably relieved. "Had we lost, only the ultra-optimists would have seen around this club for the rest of the season," he said. "Other clubs will now be a lot more nervous than we are. We are used to it."

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MONDAY APRIL 6 1992

Sunderland defeat another first division club on their way to the FA Cup final at Wembley

Byrne brings joy to Wearside

Sunderland..... 1
Norwich City..... 0

By CLIVE WHITE

AMID scenes of unfettered joy, which could not have contrasted more sharply or poignantly with the tragic occasion when Hillsborough last staged a semi-final three years ago, Sunderland reached the FA Cup final yesterday with another thoroughly deserved victory over first division opposition.

The euphoria that has carried Sunderland aloft throughout this competition, however disturbing their second division form has been, again enabled them to raise their game and overturn the odds as Norwich City went the same way as West Ham United and Chelsea before them, although this time without recourse to a replay.

Almost inevitably, the hero of the hour was again John Byrne, their Republic of Ireland international, who maintained his record of scoring in each round to bring his cup total to seven and his overall tally this season to 21.

If he scores in the final, against Liverpool or Portsmouth, he will become only the tenth player in the 120-year-old competition to maintain a 100 per cent record throughout. The £200,000 Sunderland paid Brighton for him earlier in the season has long since looked a steal.

It would be over-estimating Norwich's season to say that they were a bitter disappointment. Yet to those people who knew them as a pure footballing side, they were certainly a huge let-down.

Their decision earlier in the season to sacrifice a few of

their principles may have saved their first division necks but it also probably cost them a visit to Wembley. Quite simply, they failed to play sufficient football.

They did, however, play their part in an honest, if unspectacular match, that will have done much to repair the good name of the Sheffield ground which, nevertheless, must be forever tainted by the death of 95 people there in the 1989 semi-final between Liverpool and Nottingham Forest.

The sight of both sets of supporters applauding each other at the end was in keeping with the relationship established between the clubs in the 1985 League Cup final – better known as the “Friendly Final”.

Fortunately, the scenes yesterday will live long in the memory, certainly that of the north east, no matter the outcome at Wembley on May 9.

Should Liverpool be their opponents, it will provide obvious comparisons with 1973 when Sunderland, then also a second division side, achieved an unforgettable and totally unexpected victory over the great Leeds United team.

If Sunderland, who have not returned to Wembley since in the FA Cup, go on to repeat the triumph, one can expect Malcolm Crosby, their coach, to be given the freedom of the city, even if the manager's chair is still kept from him.

Sunderland have declined to promote him to the position of manager in succession to Dennis Smith until their safety in the second division has been secured.

“They might have to give



Arms deal: Byrne, of Sunderland, celebrates his winning goal against Norwich City yesterday

me a new title for Wembley,” Crosby said. “There's too much talk about the job; we've got important League games to win yet.”

With Crosby reluctant to comment further on the matter, it was left to others to highlight the absurdity of the situation. “Whoever heard of a caretaker-manager leading out a team at Wembley,” Bob Stokoe, Sunderland's most famous manager, said.

It was again hard to comprehend their failing in the League, watching them take firm control of this semi-final. They say that a good start is essential in such games but it did not seem to do much good for Norwich, who must have been boosted by the news of Fleck's recovery from injury.

Norwich were already beginning to run out of ideas when Sunderland scored the all-important goal.

Byrne began and ended the move, though the surging burst into space by Rush, and

the accuracy of Atkinson's cross, were as crucially important as was Norwich's absence in defence. Byrne, standing unmarked at the far post, could hardly fail to miss with his header.

Norwich's final ball was never good enough and too often they were long and aimlessly towards the Sunderland goalmouth, where Rogan dominated the aerial waves. The quality stuff all came from Sunderland, for whom Bracewell and Davenport produced performances that turned back the clock to their finest days.

Norwich were left to rue their one outstanding chance of the match when Fleck, managing to escape his jailers, crossed hard and low in the 84th minute only for Stokoe, for some inexplicable reason, to decline the chance.

Liverpool escape, page 28

RUGBY LEAGUE

Salford gain space

SALFORD and Bradford Northern clung to first division survival hopes yesterday, Salford becoming the latest side to take advantage of the Widnes slide, while Bradford Northern scrambled a one-point win over Wakefield (Keith Macklin writes).

The injury-hit and dispirited Widnes drew level at 14-14 against Salford, but two tries in four minutes from Evans and Hadley gave the visitors a 24-20 win and a possible lifeline.

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Decision day in players' dispute

By PETER BALL

THE Premier League has its last chance to avoid a confrontation with the players when they meet at Lancaster Gate this morning, shortly before the Professional Footballers' Association (PFA) announces the result of its ballot, which is expected to endorse industrial action almost unanimously.

When talks between the two sides over the players'

demand for ten per cent, their present entitlement, of the television contract income broke up on Wednesday, it had been expected that further talks would take place.

However, with Rick Parry, the Premier League's chief executive, spending three days in France, the meetings have not been able to take place, leaving both sides on the brink.

To some observers that suggested that the league is ac-

tively looking for confrontation, but Parry denied that last night.

There is little doubt that some clubs will be pressing for a hard line, but there was some hope that the sensible party, with Peter Robinson, of Liverpool, and Martin Edwards, of Manchester United, expected to play a part, will carry the day, and Parry, as always, remained optimistic after a series of soundings yesterday.

Parry is expected to phone Gordon Taylor, the PFA's chief executive, as soon as the meeting has ended, if not before. If there is no agreement, the players will begin their action.

“I think there will be some positive movement from our side,” Parry said. “We are not a long way apart. Gordon has had conversations with a number of chairmen over the last few days, and I think the mood is fairly positive.”

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Andrew helps to keep Toulouse on course

By CHRIS THAU

ROB Andrew, playing his first full league game of rugby for Toulouse, made a telling contribution to a valuable 16-12 win against their main pool rivals, Bourgoin-Jallieu, a side captained by the French No. 8, Marc Cecilion.

The England stand-off half scored eight points from two penalties and a conversion to help his side qualify for the knock-out stages of the French championship, starting in three weeks time.

Toulouse are the leading

contenders for the title, held by Bégles, and Andrew features prominently in the plans of their coach, Jean-Claude Skrela.

Another travelling international, Troy Coker, the Australian lock and No. 8, is unlikely to play for Harlequins in the Pilkington Cup final on May 2. The game coincides with Queensland's critical match with Auckland in the Super Six competition in Brisbane.

More rugby, page 27

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Germans lift ban on Krabbe

By JOHN GOODBOY

THE German Athletics Federation (DLV) yesterday lifted the four-year ban on Karin Krabbe, the world 100 and 200 metres champion, a decision that anti-drugs campaigners believe will be a setback to their cause.

However, Krabbe and fellow-German internationals Silke Möller and Grit Breuer, who were banned on February 15 because they allegedly manipulated urine samples during random tests in South Africa, may still not be able to run at the Barcelona Olympics.

Professor Arnold Ljungqvist, chairman of the International Amateur Athletic Federation's (IAAF) medical commission, said: “The decision could be declared invalid. The athletes have no reason to feel safe despite this remarkable turn-around.”

“I am very surprised but I am not disappointed over the decision. The Germans received a punishment that suddenly does not exist. Ei-

ther you are guilty or you are not guilty. What are you supposed to think after this decision?”

The IAAF is likely to discuss the affair at a meeting at the end of May and the German federation will have to submit a complete report.

The lifting of the ban was announced by Guenter Emig, the chairman of the DLV's independent legal commission, which met for 14 hours on Saturday and then for a further three-and-a-half hours yesterday. He

spoke of gaps in the testing procedure, saying: “There are holes in the chain of evidence... It has been proved that there were people present at the doping test who should not have been there.”

The urine samples of the three athletes were found to be identical by Professor Manfred Donike, of Cologne, one of the leading experts on drug analysis in the world and a member of the International Olympic Committee's medical commission. The samples were given in Stellenbosch on January 24 and then flown to Germany.

Emig said: “The bottles in which the samples were placed were not sealed properly, according to IAAF rules. It was proved that the secure transport of the samples was not guaranteed. The long time that the journey took [five days] has cast doubt on the validity of the procedure.”

However, Professor Joseph Keul, who was an official doctor at the Winter Olympics, said: “I am

speechless. It can only have been manipulation. The samples were identical. Of that there is no doubt.”

Rudiger Nicker, who leads the German federation's fight against drug-taking, said that the ruling will “definitely make our task all the harder”. Norbert Lüders, another German anti-doping doctor, added: “I fear that it could make doping testing very difficult, financially and in practical terms. It means that someone, or maybe more than one person, may have to accompany samples everywhere to rule out manipulation.”

Krabbe said: “It is a weight off my shoulders. We knew we were always innocent and that the correct decision would be made. It will take a while to get over the stress of all this but we have to get training hard.”

Joe Hermans, Krabbe's manager, said: “I thought that eventually we would win.”

*

**LOOKS**

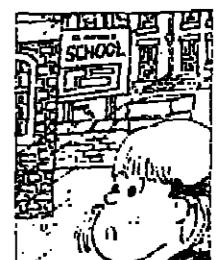
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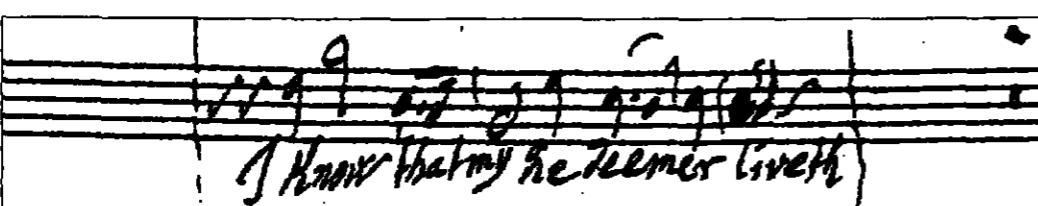
LIFE & TIMES

MONDAY APRIL 6 1992

EDUCATION
Can any party
prevent
teacher
redundancies?



Hallelujah, 'Messiah' is 250 years old



George Hill
follows the score
of a masterwork
which has
topped the charts
since the 18th
century

An ageing opera composer who had lost the knack of pulling London audiences, an actress who found it prudent to go to ground for a while after a messy adultery case, an attack from a half-demented dean, and a work so controversial that it scarcely dared to speak its name — the antecedents of Handel's *Messiah* hardly prefigured its future as the most praised and the most loved choral work ever written.

The oratorio had its first hearing 250 years ago, on April 13, 1742, in a music hall on the banks of the Liffey. The anniversary is being celebrated by performances in London and Dublin. In London last week it was performed at St George's, Hanover Square (where Handel regularly worshipped in the latter part of his life) in the form in which it was first heard: with the relatively slim orchestral resources that mid-18th century Dublin could supply. In Dublin itself, a battery of international stars under Sir Neville Marriner will give a gala performance next Monday — the anniversary itself — before an audience which will include the television cameras of Channel 4 and Radio Televis Eireann.

Nobody is likely to call it sacreligious, or criticise performers for joining in with Sir Neville's "club of fiddlers". The doubts that Handel must have felt about the work's reception were conclusively resolved — not instantly, but within his lifetime.

A generation later, *Messiah* had risen almost to the status of holy writ. In this country it came to be performed incessantly as a kind of seasonal ritual, half-devotional and half-patriotic. For audiences and a host of amateur and professional singers *Messiah* still stands as the archetype of the large choral work.

Yet it was written as an offbeat venture at a low point of Handel's fortunes. In form, it is unlike anything he had written before, and not very like the work he wrote afterwards. Although it helped to change the course of his career away from opera and towards oratorio, it is so much an odd one out among his oratorios that it almost deserves to stand in a category of its own.

All his life, Handel had been a man of the theatre. For 30 years the German immigrant had entertained London audiences with stately operas on classical themes.

so sensitive that it demanded a discreet, out-of-town try-out. His collaborator, Charles Jennens, had sent him a script which did not merely flesh out an Old Testament legend, but presented the central Christian drama of incarnation and redemption in words drawn from the Bible itself. The very words of God dragged before the footlights — would the public ever accept it?

Jennens had done his work brilliantly. He had turned an abstract doctrinal theme into a three-act opera without characters or setting, yet rich in contrasts of mood and pictorial detail. Handel must have itched to set it. But he had been too much the professional to write without any prospect of performance. Now he threw himself on the text, and finished it with many struggles, in just 24 days. In November 1741 he crossed to Ireland for what proved to be a ten-month season. He had arranged for a number of London musicians to make their way to Dublin to form a nucleus of performers.

One of them was Susanna Cibber, sister of the composer Thomas Arne. An actress of distinction, she was a singer of only moderate gifts. According to Handel's friend and biographer, Charles Burney, "her voice was a thread", but he recorded that "Handel was very fond of her" and wrote for her carefully to avoid overburdening her.

She was still recovering from a recent scandalous embroilment in London. After tolerating an affair she was having with another man, her husband, Theophilus Cibber, had exposed the whole thing to the public by attempting to sue the man for adultery.

Dublin was then at the height of its Augustan golden age. The great Dean Swift, author of *Gulliver's Travels*, now old and ill, still brooded over St Patrick's cathedral. For the prosperous Protestant upper class, the presence of the famous Handel must have confirmed Dublin's claims as a cultural capital.

In Fishamble Street, a new "Musick Hall" (now demolished, like so much of Georgian Dublin, except for one wall and the doorway) provided a worthy setting for his concerts, which were very successful. Nevertheless, he delayed the premiere of *Messiah* until he had been in the city for five months.

Winning scores: George Frideric Handel, the composer of *Messiah*, in a portrait by Philippe Mercier, probably from the late 1720s

A choir had to be recruited locally. In January, Swift gave permission for singers — Vicars Choral — from the cathedral choir to take part in Handel's concerts. Next day he sent another letter, painful to read — a last terrifying flash of the old *secreta Indignatio* — whereas it had been reported, that I gave a licence to certain vicars to assist at a club of idlers in Fishamble Street, I do hereby declare that I remember no such licence to have been ever signed or sealed by me; and that if ever such pretended licence shall be produced, I do hereby annul and vacate the said licence; intreating my... Sub-Dean and Chapter to punish such vicars as shall ever appear there, as songsters, fiddlers, pipers, trumpeters, drummers, drum-majors, or in any sonal quality, according to the flagitiousness of their respective disobedience, rebellion, perjury and ingratitude."

This superb malediction rolled out into empty air: the choristers sang in Fishamble Street two days later. It may have been the last straw for the cathedral authorities, however, for a few weeks later chancery guardians were appointed to manage Swift's affairs. At the end of Handel's stay he visited the dean, but found him scarcely able to speak (though he was to live in agony for another three years).

Messiah was received with raptures. One member of the audience, a parson, was so transported with Mrs Cibber's expressive performance of "He was despised" that he rose from his seat and tatteredly exclaimed: "Woman, for this be all thy sins forgiven!"

The performance made £400 for charity. Part of this was devoted to the relief of debtors, and made possible the release of 142 debtors from prison.

Even after his Dublin triumphs, Handel continued to treat *Messiah* with caution. Back in London, he put off its first night for months, at last slipping it into the tail end of a successful season of other oratorios, and suppressing its explosive title altogether on the first few occasions. It was never published in his lifetime.

These precautions did not prevent hostile reactions. A letter in the

Press declared: "An Oratorio either is an Act of Religion or it is not: if it is, I ask if the Playhouse is fit to be a Temple to perform it in or a Company of Players fit Ministers of God's word... what a Prophesy of God's Name..."

Criticism muttered on for many years, but was drowned out by a steadily-rising chorus of praise.

Handel adroitly maintained the initial link with charity: after 1750 he conducted annual performances at Captain Coram's hospital for foundlings. This custom did much to imprint *Messiah* on the consciousness of English music lovers.

Doctrinal objections faltered before the good works of a piece of music, which, in the words of Charles Burney, "fed the hungry, clothed the naked, fostered the orphan, and enriched succeeding managers of oratorios, more than any single musical production in this or any country".

It is continuing power to fill the coffers of countless charities is one of several non-musical reasons for its permanent popularity: audiences can feel that it is almost an act of virtue just to listen to it.

Nor is it only a spectator sport: anyone who has sung in a choir must have sung *Messiah*. Tossing it worthily is no easier than with any other great music, but it is easy to sing at a level where one may feel part of the drama and the generous warmth of the music.

It is robust enough to survive almost any abuse. When 3,000 English sopranos, altos, tenors and basses in the annual Albert Hall "Messiah from Scratch" bellow through the intricacies of the great "Amen" — and then hold their breath not to spoil the giddy void of silence four bars from the end — musical purists may shudder, but Handel's ghost must smile to hear that the show still goes on.

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You can't put a price on wasted time

WORKING LIFE: Libby Purves on the trials of touting for trade



April has sprung, and any day now my friend Barry will be off on his rounds again. He sells swimming pools, and the first watery rays of spring sunlight start his telephone ringing as if by solar power. Between now and June he will quarter the countryside with his trusty car-phone at his side, calling as requested on ambitious householders.

He will unfold brochures about expandable liners; he will prod the soil, narrow his eyes, take copious measurements and say: "Did you want the pool landscaping?" Finally, he will hand over a video of consenting couples in tracksuits indulging in DIY grouting. He will do this five times a day with straight faces, before going home to write out estimates.

Take off your hat to him, for the man deserves an Oscar. All the time he is discussing silica sand filters, Barry knows in his heart that most of these punters are pure fantasists, as likely to order a Learjet as a swimming pool. Some of them call him out year after year with

different schemes to waste his time: now musing on a marble pool in the rose-garden, now toying with a solar-heated conservatory Jacuzzi. Barry keeps on smiling and estimating, just in case. You never know.

Estimates, pitches, presentations, auditions, pilot programmes: most trades contain an element of casting your bread upon the waters and watching it float away.

I say trades, because the professions tend to weasel out of it: when you last get rival solicitors to estimate their costs, or rival doctors pitching for the contract to do your Bupa cartilage? Even estate agents have started covering themselves against failure by charging an extra fee for producing details of your house even if they never sell it.

But honest trades almost always have to pitch, estimate or audition for work. And a heartbreaking business it is. What hell to be an architect in competition. Do they get paid for those dinky models? Do they smash them in fury when they fail?

Pity the torment of the unpublished author, but pity also the advertising account manager who works night and day on a super new way to sell spaghetti hoops, and whose artful structure of smoked-salmon buffets, storyboards and smiling girls is kicked down in ten minutes.

Weep for the independent TV producer who spends weeks clipping together snazzy bits of desktop publishing, complete with imitation preview cutting from imaginary newspapers, all for some whey-faced mandarin to sneer at.

Some producers actually research a whole real set of willing film subjects for their proposal, even though those actual people will be well over their plastic surgery before the money comes through, so the work will have to be done all over again. It doesn't matter. The cus-

tomers is always right, the swine.

What does this endless pitching do to the human soul? Psychologists, never having had to audition themselves, tend to concentrate on the warping effects of sexual rejection or being ripped unfriendly from the maternal breast. They never give a thought to the equally cruel routine rejection of one's work.

For estimates are work. Barry might do a brilliant offer, cutting the pipework costs by a cunning detour under the garage and throwing in a free inflatable crocodile only to be totally ignored.

An actor may vainly work all week on an audition, a salesman produce a customised proposal, or a copywriter put her whole soul into a new way of telling the aspirational AB woman that Renaults

make your heels grow higher. All for nothing.

I once had a flirtation with the world of commercial voiceovers. They shut me up in a cellar in Soho for two full hours and made me intone "Natural Choice — it's the natural choice" in a thousand different voices ("Could you put more warmth into the choice, lovey? Think nuts, think furry squirrels"). Drained and ashamed, I went home only to be told a week later that "The client's decided to go with Richard Briers". I snarled that I hoped they would be very happy together, and vowed to stick to honest toil.

The following week a magazine asked for a 500-word synopsis and then lost it, and the BBC, having made me do a pilot programme (pretty naff, actually), kept a nine-month silence and then without a word opened the series with

Another Woman presenting it. She even used one of my jokes. And was there an NHS Rejection Therapist to turn to? There was not.

At least, if you have estimated, auditioned or posted an unsolicited MS, you have had time to prepare for failure. Even worse is the poisonous showbiz practice of the Availability Check. This involves a brisk woman ringing you up and asking if you are interested in going to the Seychelles for a week's filming, starring in the *Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*, guesting for Edna Everage or undergoing some similar life-transforming experience. She will be most insistent that you "pencil it in" and keep the dates free. Chat-show researchers then spend an hour asking your opinion on everything from incest to City fraud. Then silence. Ring back and she will say that the client loved the idea, only Richard Briers came free...

TOMORROW
Midlife: Neil Lyndon

23rd June, 1992

An important date for European Ceramics. Mark it in your diary.

Last October, this charming Meissen cabinet tray dating from 1870 successfully sold at Sotheby's for £5,280, well in excess of its upper estimate. Last month's sale of Continental Ceramics and Glass was 80% sold, indicating that the market for fine ceramics and glass remains strong with good prices being paid for high quality items.



The Meissen mark for the whole of the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th century

CLOSING DATE FOR THIS SALE: 13TH APRIL

Many exceptional pieces from the 16th to the 19th century, including Meissen, Sevres, German Faience, Venetian and Biedermeier glass, have already been entered for our June European Ceramics and Glass sale. If you would like to include fine porcelain or glass in this sale, please contact Peter Arney or Simon Cottle of our Ceramics Department on 071-108 5134-3 by 13th April latest.

SOTHEBY'S
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Fo, fun and a fair bit of fee

As Dario Fo's new play comes to London, Benedict Nightingale goes to Milan for an audience with the Vatican's least favourite dramatist

Dario Fo is a paradoxical person. He has been arrested as a subversive, and proposed for the Nobel Prize by no less a figure than Alberto Moravia. He found the old Italian Communist Party too right-wing and still regards himself as working class, yet he has an ample estate in Umbria, a seaside villa, and an apartment in Milan that might be a cross between a Bulgarian penitentiary and the British Museum. He writes violently anti-establishment farces that have nevertheless triumphed in the heart of our establishment theatre, the West End.

Nobody can be sure if Fo's *The Pope and the Witch*, which opens in London next Monday, will match his *Accidental Death of an Anarchist* and *Can't Pay? Won't Pay!* at the box-office; but it has set cash registers and alarm-bells ringing in Italy. What else was to be expected when the nation's most celebrated comic was dramatising and impersonating its most august resident? The play shows John Paul II's transformation from a paranoid bully-boy into a sackcloth-wearing crusader for contraception and legalised drugs; and with all Fo's in-sinct for mischief.

Growing addiction among the Italian young and the Mafia's control of the drug market were the reasons Fo wrote the play. "I needed a very important person going through a conflict, a crisis, a catharsis. He would at first be against liberalisation of the drug laws and then in favour. It could have been a president, but in the end it was this very conservative Pope."

He is no friend of the Vatican, nor it of him. The Pope he regards as a "monomaniac", obsessed with birth control, hostile to progressive theologians, insensitive to events in South America. There is also a suggestion in the play that John Paul I was murdered by a cardinal in cahoots with the Mafia. "I don't know whether it happened," he says, "but you can expect everything from the Vatican. They have killed in the past."



Dario Fo, holding one of his commedia dell'arte masks: "Most cardinals would like to burn me"

though unfailingly courteous, clearly hating those containing his restlessness. Mostly we chatted in his apartment, which overlooks southern Milan from high in a posh block. Even without the six white sofas and the oriental maid in the Snoopy shirt, it would be an impressive place. There is an Etruscan lion dating from 600 BC, a lovely medieval pietà, rows of commedia dell'arte masks, a statue of St Sebastian (minus arrows) from Mantegna's workshop, Cretan vases, and lesser antiquities galore.

Clearly, Fo has made a spectacular recovery from any early belief that property is theft — but who would begrudge his success? Few men give more performance or keep a more punishing schedule. The day before we met he had given a solo show in Genoa, and the day afterwards, his 66th birthday, he was doing another. In Milan, he told me with satisfaction, he could take 45 million lire (£20,000) a

performance at the box office. Unsurprisingly, it is now the private theatre owners who mostly seek his services. Is there not a danger, then, of losing the audiences who thronged to see him in less grand buildings in the 1970s? Well, Fo is a railwayman's son and says he prefers performing to the class to which he feels he still belongs. But he is happy to stimulate what he regards as the enlightened bourgeoisie and, especially, address the disaffected young: "Even if they don't come from a proletarian family, they often live in the same conditions.

Even some upper middle class people are proletarian these days. Of course the offspring of the very rich don't come to my shows. They go skiing." Isn't there another danger, which is that audiences laugh at the farce and ignore the radicalism? Fo has criticised some of his foreign director, including West End ones, for piling on the fun. His own performances are notable for coolness, detachment, "rigore", a balance between

hilarity and seriousness. "Comedy should always come out of the situation and be handled with care," he says. "Perform it as a tragedy, not forcing the fun. Then the grotesque will emerge."

Grotesque is a word Fo uses often. For him, it seems to mean reality rendered savagely satirical, as in the early Italian commedia or the plays of Molière, a dramatist he is fond of quoting. He was who said that while solemn drama might wet the cheeks, comedy opens the mouth and the mind, allowing the nails of reason to be embedded in the brain. "You remember things much better through laughter than through tears," declares Fo.

But remember what? These days Fo seems surer of what he is against — the human "pique" he sees feeding on the weaker fish — than what he is for. The accusation that he sympathised with the Red Brigades was always unjust. But he once embraced Marxism more

forthrightly than he does now. "All sensible people are very confused," he says. "We are facing a great crisis, perhaps a huge tragedy, and not only in Italy. A person with clear ideas is a kind of monster."

"But only stupid people think that the fall of the Berlin Wall will destroy socialism. The established oligarchy of socialism may have died, but the real socialism is inside man. It wasn't born with Marx. It was in the communities of Italy in the middle ages. You can't say it is finished."

Maybe so, maybe not. What is clear is that Fo himself is far from finished. Soon he will be directing *The Barber of Seville* in Paris and Amsterdam. Then it is off to America with a play about the resistance the Indians put up to European invaders. It will show "hundreds of thousands killed in very cruel battles" and it will be very funny, "grotesque": quintessential Dario Fo.

• *The Pope and the Witch* is in preview at the Comedy Theatre, Panton St, SW1 (071-867 1045), opening next Monday

DANCE

If you go down to the woods ...

White Oak Project
Sadler's Wells

comic dances: a trio, for instance, in which Baryshnikov deals briskly and efficiently with two importunate partners, and an ensemble switching between understated gestures and heavily exaggerated rhetoric.

"I" sh...: ... highly variable Morris at his astringent and amusing best. On the other hand, his solo for Baryshnikov to Alexander Tcherepnin's *Bagatelles* is sometimes more perfunctory in its imitation of child-like play.

Baryshnikov and John Gardner perform an adagio by Lar Lubovitch admirably: the banality of the choreography is disguised only by the novelty of giving a big romantic duet to two men. Rob Besser's dry, brusque solo *Break*, by Meredith Monk, would be eccentric even without the unsettling touch of listing it on the programme as Nancy Colahan in Jane Dudley's more familiar and better solo, *Harmonica Breakdown*. Carol Parker's solo, *Nocturne*, by Martha Clarke, is a mixture of Miss Havisham, *Giselle*, The Dying Swan and the Folies Bergère. Is it meant to be funny?

The total effect is a sampler rather than a proper programme: a buffet, not a real meal. Odd to find no modern music and mainly monochrome designs. I cannot see this show sending many people off to see real modern dance companies.

ARTS BRIEF

Suitable choice

BBC 2 will screen the final on Saturday night — high notes, haute couture and all.

Last chance ...

SCOTTISH Opera's future now looks rosier, thanks to the Scottish Office's £500,000 rescue package and the signing of Richard Armstrong as music director. The company ends its winter season this week at the Theatre Royal, Newcastle (091-232 2061), with *La traviata*, *Billy Budd* and *Figaro*.

THEATRE

Romping rumpus revived



Maidens: Saskia Reeves and Joscette Bushell-Mingo

The Virtuoso The Pit

running circles round each other in the hope of ending up in bed with the mate of their choice.

The play opens with one good-looking man alone in bed, dreaming that girls break from the ranks of characters watching from the shadows to swoop affectionately upon him. By the end of the evening all but one of these characters have been paired off, some of them most unsuitably, through a succession of ruses, masquerades and abrupt de-

sents through a trap door.

In her directorial debut for the company Phyllida Lloyd creates a romping rumpus of a show. Some of the scenes read pretty dull on the page, but she animates them with unexpected tricks and anachronisms that generally succeed and always supply a moment's pleasure.

Bruce and Longvil, the two young blades (Barry Lynch, Sean Murray), are in pursuit of Clarinda and Miranda (Joscette Bushell-Mingo and Saskia Reeves), maidens of such indistinguishable personality that it quickly becomes unimportant to

remember which name belongs to whom.

Lynch and Murray, baritone and tenor respectively, bring a nice gravity and poise to the roles. Lynch's dry delivery of comedy is particularly engaging, especially when he is standing motionless beside the insently affected Lady Gimcrack (Linda Marlowe) as she whirs her arms like the sails of a windmill in overdrive. Grimacing with ill-concealed lust, Marlowe is like a splendid Disney villainess left behind on the drawing board as too amazing to fit into any storyline.

Most of the men wear clomping boots and several women wear tatters, for no good reason except to look picturesque. One exception is Sir Formal Trifle, Shadwell's most original creation, whose ornate period Guy Henry delivers without ever losing his way in the subordinate clauses, and whose pageboy bob and sober suit are evidently taken from the young Henry Irving. With Christopher Benjamin fruitfully brusque as Sir Nicholas and secure acting all down the line, Dryden's smear on Shadwell has been exuberantly wiped clean.

JEREMY KINGSTON

CONCERT

Dramatic encounter by moonlight

CBSO/Rattle Festival Hall

Glen Tetley's version for the old Ballet Rambert.

Its expressionist theatricality was reinforced here by having Elise Ross match the vocal Sprechgesang with dramatic gesture in a production devised by Sylvano Bussotti, who also designed her Pierrot cloak and costume (made from 100-year-old Italian silk). And very becoming she looked and sounded, moving in and out of a spotlight representing the moonstruck milieu of the poems.

Her voice, with marginally more song than speech in its

delivery, nicely caught the musical inflections and nuances of Schoenberg's tricky setting, making the often awkward contours serve a poetic and not just virtuous purpose. Rattle's conducting set off against the sharply etched and carefully balanced instrumental texture of the orchestra's Contemporary Music Group, in which the pianist, not named with the others in the programme, looked surprisingly like Emanuel Ax.

He it was who appeared in more formal dress to deliver with magisterial technique the bold chordal effects, wide and angular solo writing and rapid fingerwork of Prokofiev's First Piano Concerto. Energetic

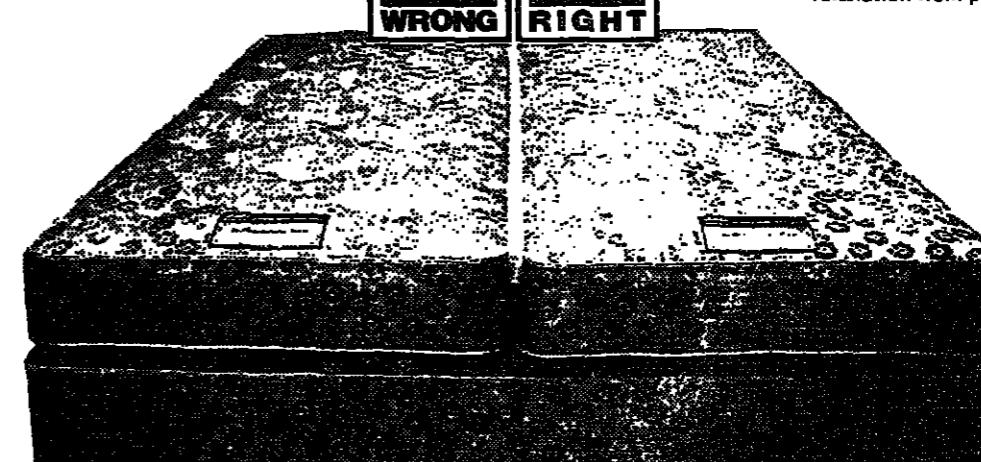
NOEL GOODWIN

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ORTHOPAEDIC & MEDIBEDS

H. Ross Perot, a powerful Texan, is a short step away from trying for the White House, Jamie Dettmer reports



Richly ambitious: the plain-speaking H. Ross Perot in front of a family portrait in his office. His supporters consider him a crusader, and his enemies claim that he is a bully

Confusion is said to have clouded the face of a high-ranking Chinese politician on a visit to Dallas a few years ago when the Texan billionaire H. Ross Perot handed him as a gift a copy of one of his favourite books, the *American Scout's Manual*. After intense discussion, the Chinese delegation concluded that this must be the American equivalent of the *Little Red Book*. If Mr Perot had his way, it would be.

Come this autumn, the simple exhortations to pursue a truthful, clean-living life contained in the scouts' handbook could well form part of the philosophy behind one of the most extraordinary campaigns for the presidency in American history.

In a few months, Americans may be confronted with the vision of Mr Perot, a short man with US marine-style closely cropped hair, urging them in his high-pitched, folksy east-Texan twang to break with politics-as-usual and vote for him as president.

H. Ross Perot (the H stands for Henry, known by his admirers as the Dallas crusader, and by his enemies as a bully and a loudmouth, is

eager to mount an independent challenge for the White House. He has threatened to do so before. But since February, when he proclaimed that America was "in deep doodoo", and announced on a radio chat show his readiness to run, "if the American people ask me", Mr Perot has been fanning the flames of a candidacy which could set American politics alight.

Texans are used to Mr Perot's political ambitions.

Since selling for \$2.5 billion (£1.7 billion) in 1984 a computer data firm he started 22 years earlier with \$1,000, Mr Perot has backed various Texan gubernatorial and congressional campaigns. They are also used to him keeping his word. In 1979, he delighted the lone star state and the rest of America by organising a daring do-commando raid to rescue two of his employees held hostage in a Tehran jail, an audacious escape that thriller writer Ken Follett's described in his book *On Wings of Eagles*, and secured for Mr Perot the image of man of action.

Mr Perot's first wildly improbable adventure occurred in 1969, when he responded to Henry Kissinger's worries

They are like the marine corps, one writer remarked. 'Heck, they are the marine corps'

about the condition of American POWs in North Vietnam. Mr Perot hired two B-52 jets and tried to airlift into North Vietnam 30 tonnes of supplies.

Hanoi rebuffed him.

Since then, Mr Perot's links with the Pentagon have been strong. He is known to have helped the American government on a variety of highly classified missions. His name was linked to the Iran-Contra affair. It was during his involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) that he was said by friends to have formed a dislike for George Bush, a former CIA director. The differences between the two men are believed to have centred on the CIA's use of drugs trafficking.

Other rich men in America have dreamt of riding to the nation's rescue and grabbing the presidency; their ambitions have generally been dismissed. No third party or independent candidate has ever been elected to the White House. Theodore Roosevelt came closest when he attracted 27 per cent of the vote when he challenged Woodrow Wilson in 1912 as candidate for the Progressive party.

What distinguishes Mr Perot's threat is the sheer scale of his wealth (*Forbes* magazine ranks his personal fortune as the 21st largest in the United States); the determination he shows in pursuing his goals; and a track record in business that has been one of the great American rags-to-riches success stories. "He is the most single-minded man on the face of the earth," says Peter

Elkind, the editor of the weekly *Dallas Observer*.

In go-getting Texas, a state littered with the powerful, the wealthy, and the ambitious, Mr Perot, despite being only 5ft 6inches tall, stands out. Born in 1930 in the small Texas-Arkansas border town of Texarkana, to a less than affluent cotton-broking, horse-trading father, Mr Perot learnt early that to succeed you had to work. Above his bed, his mother tacked a Norman Rockwell print depicting a boy scout at prayer. Nowadays, Rockwell originals adorn his corporate suite.

Mr Perot's first business success came as a teenager when he ran a newspaper round in a ghetto of Texarkana that no other paper boy would go near. At 19, he went to Annapolis Naval Academy. After several years as a midshipman, he joined IBM as a salesman in Dallas to try to make money to support a young wife and start a family. He was filling his yearly sales quota by the end of January that year.

In 1962, he set out on a road that would make his fortune. With \$1,000 he launched Electronic Data Systems (EDS) and through the years he managed to pick up several lucrative federal and state health care contracts. A magazine described him as "the first welfare billionaire".

He employed large numbers of Vietnam veterans and ran EDS as a cross between a religious sect and boot camp.

Male employees were not allowed to have beards or moustaches and they had to wear white shirts and single-colour ties. "They are like the marine corps," one writer who studied EDS remarked. "Heck, they are the marine corps."

Mr Perot stamped his authority on the company in the same way the critics accuse him of behaving in any venture in which he is involved. On the record, prominent Texan politicians have only praise for Mr Perot. Off the record, they spit out bite. "He's too short and too rich," one commented. Another said:

"There is only one way of doing business with him, and that's on his terms, or not at all. Him in the White House? God, that would worry me."

Few think Mr Perot would make it to the White House. Even so, support appears to be growing. A *Los Angeles Times* opinion poll, conducted last week, showed that 21 per cent of Americans would vote for Mr Perot. His appeal, in some ways, is similar to Jerry Brown's. They both appear as outsiders to an America that is fed up with Washington, politics and, above all, politicians.

He has said he will run if his supporters get his name on the ballot in all 50 states. Last week, to further that aim, Mr Perot announced an interim running mate, Vice-Admiral James Stockdale, the Vietnam war hero.

A steady stream of television appearances has kept the Perot candidacy alive. He has taken a leaf out of Jerry Brown's book and installed a toll-free number and 100 telephone lines in his offices in North Dallas, and pre-recording lines in Florida. So far more than a million calls have been received urging Mr Perot to run. After one television appearance, when he said, "In

there is no public hint of any Clinton-like scandal lurking in Mr Perot's background.

He is a strong family man, said to be close to all of his four children. All have worked for him, as has his sister, Betty, who is involved in Mr Perot's charity work in Texas.

In a recent issue of the *National Review*, the influential conservative weekly, Ed Rollins, Ronald Reagan's 1984 campaign manager, issued a warning to presidential and congressional candidates that the allegiance of American voters is up for grabs. "A tidal wave is about to sweep across America's political landscape. Outsiders can ride it straight into the corridors of power, insiders who resist will find themselves beached, far from Washington."

Mr Perot hopes he can ride the wave.

plain Texas talk, it's time to take out the trash and clean out the barn", the telephone system in North Dallas was "gridlocked".

The prospect of Mr Perot running for president is unnerving Republican campaign managers, who are worried that disgruntled conservatives might vote for him and spoil George Bush's chances. They are particularly concerned that Mr Perot could secure Texas and Florida in a contest. Equally, some Democratic managers are cautioning their colleagues that a Perot candidacy might hurt the chances of their own.

Mr Perot is difficult to classify along right-wing/left-wing lines. He is pro-choice on abortion and for gun control. He wants more discipline in schools and stiffer anti-drug laws. He supported the Vietnam war, but opposed Desert Storm. He prides himself on being a patriot. He wants to see social security for the wealthiest Americans cut.

There is no public hint of any Clinton-like scandal lurking in Mr Perot's background. He is a strong family man, said to be close to all of his four children. All have worked for him, as has his sister, Betty, who is involved in Mr Perot's charity work in Texas.

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Mr Perot hopes he can ride the wave.

Hooked on a classic

Peter Pan, in *Hook*, will once again help Great Ormond Street Hospital

A five-minute documentary, narrated by children, is likely to steal the show at tomorrow night's West End premiere of Steven Spielberg's multi-million dollar epic *Hook*.

The mini-documentary weaves its own brand of enchantment with a look at the history of the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children and its enduring links with the story of Peter Pan and its creator, Sir James Barrie.

When he died in 1937, Sir James bequeathed all the royalties from any plays, films or books based on his children's classic to the hospital. When the book came out of copyright in 1987, Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, whose wife was chairman of the hospital's board of special trustees, persuaded the House of Lords to amend the Copyright Bill so that royalties from Peter Pan would continue to go to the hospital for ever.

The documentary was the brainchild of Michael Samuelson, the film lighting millionaire, whose son, Jamie, then aged eight, died at Great Ormond Street of aplastic anaemia in 1970.

Mr Samuelson, who is the hospital's appeals trustee and co-chairman of the organising committee of *Hook*, hopes that his film will inspire others to follow Barrie's example.

Five weeks ago he approached Tony Kaye Films, which specialises in making television commercials. Mr Samuelson, whose daughter Emma Samms is a soap opera actress in Hollywood, chose Tony Kaye "because they make very emotional commercials and I wanted this to be emotional". They, and everyone else involved — about 100 people in all — gave their services for nothing.

"People have been amazingly generous," Patricia Murphy, the documentary's director, says. A veteran commercial maker, she is more accustomed to making films about soap powders and hair shampoos. She advertised in the press and on the radio for anyone of any age who had ever been treated at Great Ormond Street, and was inundated with replies. They ranged from a 93-year-old woman who had an operation to remove a growth in 1906, to the mother of an eight-month-old boy who is undergoing treatment for a club foot, and included a former Great Ormond Street nurse, Wendy Tonkinson, 86, whose parents named her after seeing the first stage *Peter Pan* in 1904.

The narration includes a quotation by Charles Dickens from *The London Journal*, referring to the 22,000 children who died in London from infectious diseases in 1852 — the year that Great Ormond Street was founded: "What should we say of the rose tree in which one bud out of every three dropped to the soil dead?"

Miss Murphy ended up with 80,000 feet of film, which included archive footage and stills of some of the earliest *Peter Pans*, such as Pauline Chase and Frances Day.

"It should have taken six months to make, but we did it in four weeks," says Miss Murphy, who is making a longer version for television.

Among the 19,000-strong audience at the Odeon, Leicester Square, will be the Princess of Wales, who is the hospital's current patron, following a royal precedent set by Queen Victoria, and the present Queen, Wendy Hoffman, Bob Hoskins and Robin Williams. The proceeds of the premiere, expected to be around £200,000, will go to Great Ormond Street Hospital.

SALLY BROMPTON



Good medicine: Dustin Hoffman and Robin Williams

WOMEN'S WAR



Julia Neuberger on reports from the feminist battlefield by Marilyn French and Susan Faludi. This Friday in The TES.

TES

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EVERY FRIDAY 75p

Special K is not a new brand of breakfast cereal, but a powerful drug whose use by teenagers is causing concern

Altered states of youth

"I don't get any buzz from E any more, and I do worry about its side effects. The papers say it can give you heat-stroke and heart failure. Special K is mellow. You feel weightless, your body is filled with light. Sometimes I am miles above the dancefloor. Sometimes I just want to cry."

Martin, aged 19, had not heard of Special K until last week. "It's far stronger than anything I've taken before. Unbelievable things happen, but you can't judge from your previous experiences what your next one will be like, and it is quite scary," he says. These were teenagers who had contacted drug dependency units in London and only then realised what they were taking.

Special K is made from Ketamine Hydro-Chloride, an anaesthetic drug used in veterinary practices, in hospitals in cases of emergency and as a "buddy drug" for soldiers to administer to each other in times of war.

Dr Mel Morgan, a consultant anaesthetist at Hammersmith Hospital, in London, uses it for certain operations. "The drug is different to other anaesthetic agents. It separates the mind from the body, rather than sending people to sleep. It is also a very, very powerful painkiller, good for painful procedures and in emergencies such as the Moorgate Tube

disaster, when people need to be operated on immediately," he says.

According to Dr Morgan, the problems start in recovery. "When you start to emerge you have no sense of body image, you can feel totally disorientated, and you can have hallucinations, so in normal situations we prefer using other anaesthetic agents. The effects can be amplified by external stimuli, so if Ketamine is

used, the patient must recover in a quiet, dark room, otherwise it could be very frightening. I can't believe anyone would want to use it amid the noise and flashing lights of a dancefloor."

Ketamine's structure is close to Angel Dust or phencyclidine, which was popular in America ten years ago, and caused aggressive and violent behaviour and even brain damage in some heavy users," he says. Under medical supervision, Dr Dickenson says, the drug is safe. Patients do not seem to suffer withdrawal symptoms.

"On the street we have no idea how much they are taking, but it is enough for them to be having visual disturbances, deep trances and temporary loss of limb control," Dr Dickenson says. "They could easily have an accident under its influence. We also know nothing about its long-term effects."

Both doctors are sure that the drug is not being stolen from hospitals and veterinary practices. "This drug is as easy to manufacture as Ecstasy. Someone with a good working knowledge of chemistry could make it in any backstreet laboratory," Dr Dickenson says.

Drug dependency clinics as far apart as Plymouth and Liverpool have begun to hear of cases of abuse of the drug. It seems to be sold predominantly in London and Manchester, though no one has any idea of its prevalence.

Ian Wardle, the manager of Life-line, the Manchester drug agency,

was the first person to raise the alarm. "There are always reports of new mix-and-match drugs which we register. But Special K is the only new drug that seems to have taken off," he says. "We have had people ringing up, concerned by the bizarre effects of the drug. They want to know why it doesn't give the same sense of empathy and collectiveness that they get from Ecstasy. They know now they are taking something different, and some of them really seem to like the new effects."

Most of the agency's queries are from people aged between ten and 20. Mr Wardle is worried about the side-effects because it is seen to give users the sort of withdrawal that is characteristic of heroin and LSD. "We don't know how dangerous it is yet, but it could be as bad for you as Ecstasy or worse," he says.

Ketamine is not a controlled substance under the Home Office's Misuse of Drugs Act, although Ecstasy is in category A, as is heroin. A spokesman says they are monitoring the situation, but Mr Wardle thinks that banning it will have little effect.

The illegality of Ecstasy has had no effect on its popularity, he says. "We desperately need to educate young people and parents about side-effects of drugs, so at least they know what they are taking and are aware of the dangers."

Alice Thompson

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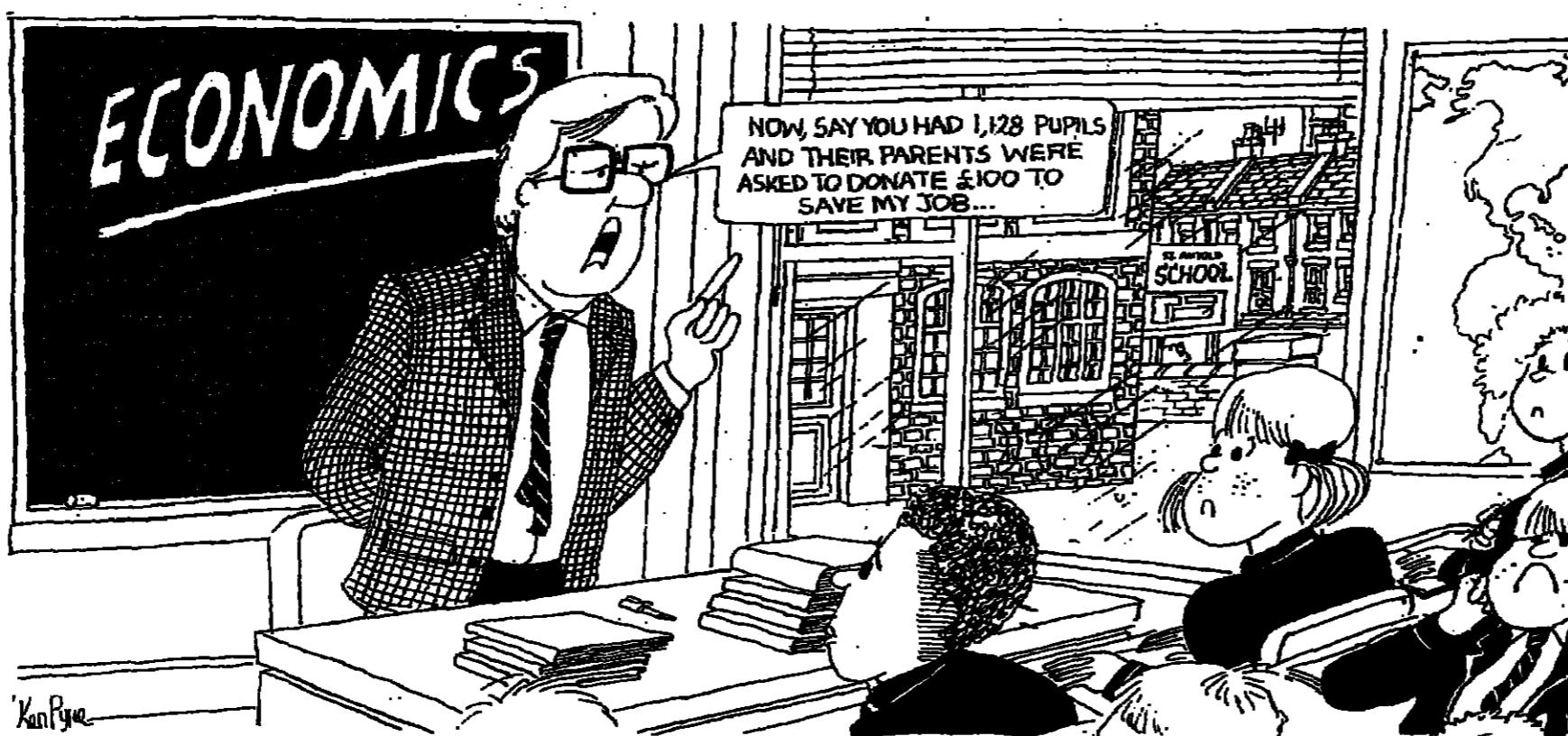
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EDUCATION TIMES



Cuts loom as budgets bounce

Whichever party takes power this week, the education secretary will face a growing clamour over the funding of state schools. Governors throughout England and Wales are drawing up budgets, which are unlikely to alter substantially because of electoral spending pledges.

The spectre of teacher redundancies has been raised annually by the teaching unions and local authorities trying to talk up the public spending devoted to education. Kenneth Clarke, the education secretary, anticipated a repeat even as he announced the teachers' pay award, dismissing the claims as "annual ritual nonsense".

This year, however, there is more substance than usual in the scare stories. The local authorities may be exaggerating when they forecast the loss of 12,000 teaching posts, but there is no doubt that financial pressures are forcing governors to cut posts at a time when most would prefer to increase staffing levels to accommodate the national curriculum.

A survey of a dozen authorities in the *Times Educational Supplement* this week showed that 1,000 teaching and ancillary jobs were threatened. The sample included several of the authorities that have found most difficulty in balancing their budgets, but their experience is by no means unusual.

In Essex, which did not feature in

the survey, secondary heads met last Friday to protest at likely budget cuts averaging £20,000 a school.

Three sixth-form colleges found that they were losing £631,000 because the county decided that it could not afford full funding for the extra numbers staying on in education beyond 16.

David Kelly, the principal of Palmers College, in Grays, says: "We have lost £172,000, so I have almost cleared out our contingency reserve and cut maintenance. And there will be larger classes. We are in an area that has not had a great tradition of further and higher education, but we have had participation over the last four years, and now we are being penalised for it."

There have been teachers' strikes in Staffordshire, where cuts of £7 million have been demanded, and in Brent, north London, where 18 teachers have been notified of redundancy. This month's teacher union conferences will hear calls for more concerted action.

Parents' organisations have also begun to express concern. The National Confederation of Parent Teacher Associations said last week that it had received six reports in a fortnight of schools asking for

parental contributions to maintain staffing levels.

Today parents from a dozen authorities will give similar accounts at a news conference organised by the Campaign for State Education. Among them will be a group from St Paul's School in Dorking, Surrey, where parents were asked for £100 a child to

The difficulties are likely to require redundancies

prevent the loss of a teaching post. Ministers accused the governors of mismanaging their budget, but other Surrey schools have run into less spectacular budget troubles.

London faces particular difficulties as authorities begin to lose the cushioning provided in transitional arrangements after the demise of the Inner London Education Authority. Wandsworth, in south London, has had a highly public dispute over cuts totalling £4 million, and many schools in Greenwich have lost more than

£100,000. The irony of the present situation is that it comes at a time when recurrent spending on education is rising, in real terms and as a proportion of national wealth. Mr Clarke claimed last week that more was being spent on education than in Japan or Germany.

Why, then, should the crunch be coming this year? The three main factors seem to be controls on local government spending, the size of the teachers' pay award and the spread of local management of schools.

Though some authorities, such as Essex, are not spending as much as the government allows for education and are in no immediate danger of having their expenditure capped, many of those in deepest trouble have little room for manoeuvre. Some, such as Warwickshire, are implementing deep cuts even after exceeding government limits. The election will determine whether spending limits are raised.

At the root of many schools' problems lies teachers' pay. Not only did the £60 million extra provided by the government fail to meet the full cost of the 7.8 per cent increase in pay for the coming year, but no allowance was made for the staging of last year's rises. The authorities estimate the second

phase of the 1991-2 settlement has added 2 per cent to next year's pay bill.

Governors' control of their own budgets has not only ensured that the full effects of funding shortfalls are more widely acknowledged, it has also accentuated the impact on particular schools. Local management was always intended to benefit popular schools at the expense of others, and formula funding means that those failing to attract enough pupils face financial problems. No longer can an authority protect schools in difficulty by providing them with extra pupils.

The other main factor is the recession, which has had a marked effect on the mobility of teachers. Previously, governors in most parts of the country could expect to lose a number of staff each year, allowing them to shed posts, rather than sack people, if the books failed to balance.

Official statistics show that some of the local authorities' previous estimates of job losses have been more accurate than ministers admit, but redundancies have not been necessary to achieve the necessary savings.

Now that teachers are tending to stay put, cuts are more likely to require redundancies. Teachers' pay accounts for 80 per cent of school spending, and governors have nowhere else to turn to satisfy the legal requirement to produce a balanced budget.

Time to act on schools drama

A REPORT to be presented by the Arts Council at the National Theatre tomorrow will intensify the debate about whether drama should be a foundation subject in the national curriculum.

Art, music and physical education are about to become statutory subjects, but drama muddles on as a teaching method under the wing of English and a handful of other subjects.

The National Curriculum Council was to issue its guidance on drama last year, but the project was mysteriously dropped. The Arts Council stepped in by forming a working party to bring out guidelines of its own.

The working party has tried to cut through much of the theory and jargon that threatens to strangle the subject. "Drama in Schools" identifies three fundamental activities: making, performing and responding. Pupils might, for example, explore an idea through improvisation and articulate it in dramatic form.

Although there is no statutory requirement to follow them, the targets and the recommended

study programmes give the most practical advice yet on how to structure a well-rounded programme of drama teaching for the national curriculum.

Without the stamp of the Arts Council, "Drama in Schools" has, however, no more authority than the good name of Arts Council expertise. It is merely guidance, which means that though the quality of drama teaching may be improved, the quantity, especially in primary schools, is left to the discretion of head teachers.

It is fair to expect teachers to take on yet more attainment targets? I suggest it is if it helps them to make more effective use of the little time they have for drama.

However, even if enough time and resources were found for drama, many teachers still lack the confidence to teach it well. One likely effect of the report will be a big demand for in-service training.

But as education authorities

cut their budgets, in-service training in drama becomes less affordable.

Increasingly, the theatre profession is finding itself a main provider. Both the Royal Shakespeare Company and the Royal National Theatre have extensive education programmes for pupils and teachers, although their courses are oversubscribed.

Most schools have little contact with the theatre profession and that is one deficiency the report tries to remedy. It explains how schools can get help from the arts while the council itself is putting greater pressure on its clients to reach out to schools.

The underlying message of "Drama in Schools" is that drama should be regarded as a foundation subject. Undeniably, the subject has a future. Drama is highly popular at secondary level, where the number of pupils taking GCSE drama far exceeds those for music. Drama courses have proliferated in sixth-form colleges, colleges of further education and universities.

Despite the subject's popularity, there seems little likelihood that its status will be raised in the near future. The education secretary has indicated no intention of considering it as a foundation subject. A Labour government would only marginally more sympathetic, setting up a review of the national curriculum to elicit teachers' views on what should be taught.

The theatre profession now needs to swing its weight behind the cause. Otherwise, drama will remain squeezed among the stronger subjects. In the meantime, "Drama in Schools" does at least give teachers the immediate means to steer it towards clearer policies and more focused teachers.

The author teaches drama at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama and is a member of the Arts Council working party.

• "Drama in Schools" is available from local education authorities or from the Arts Council, 14 Great Peter Street, London SW1P 3NQ (0171-333 0100).

VIEWPOINT

Kenneth Rea



Funding shortages also mean cutbacks for a unique form of help

Hospitals close their doors to special needs teaching

Until last October, Mark Trembling, a 10-year-old with learning difficulties, was getting free weekly specialist teaching at a London hospital. Now his parents, part-time workers, may have to spend up to £25 a session for the help he needs to avoid being thrown on the educational scrap heap. He is one of nearly 200 children who have had their special teaching cut in London in the last 12 months.

Early last year, six hospitals in London had units for children with learning difficulties. Now all their teaching has been cut and most units are barely surviving. In the past few weeks, 109 children who were getting free tuition at the Bloomfield unit, at Guy's Hospital, have been told that they must either leave or pay.

At a time when concern at falling education standards is high, five centres with highly trained and experienced staff are being allowed to vanish or are being privatised, not because of any carefully devised plan but because of cuts, market forces and administrative convenience. Part of the problem is that the units fall between two administrative stools. Whether closure of the centres is in the best interest of the children has never been asked.

Despite the medical aspect, the 1981 Education Act that deals with special needs made them the responsibility of education departments, and several of the closures followed withdrawal of funds by the local education authority.

Alan Wood, the head of special needs at Southwark education authority, which has stopped funding the Bloomfield unit, said that because most users were not from Southwark, the expense of trying to recoup the cost of the service was prohibitive.

In any case, he said, the service provided by the unit could be covered by mainstream schools. "And," he added, "we had to reduce our budget."

There is, however, yet another factor, which the education authorities tend not to spell out: that the hospitals can



Tom Formikel, a teacher at the Bloomfield unit of Guy's Hospital, with Steven Miles, aged 10

act as an alternative source of expertise.

If parents are having difficulty with the school or believe their child's case is not being taken seriously, said Helen Redwood of the Charing Cross unit (run back by Fulham and Hammersmith), "they can

come to us for an assessment." Education authorities are publicly funded, so they tend to take the advice of hospitals more seriously than they take reports from psychologists working privately, who are often considered to be touting for business.

What happens to the children who have lost their extra teaching at the hospital? A few, such as Mark Trembling, may get private tuition, which their parents can ill afford.

In theory, they all remain the responsibility of the education authority. But in the case of at least one closure, involving 50 children being taught at St Bartholomew's.

There is a debate as to whether hospitals are the best place to teach these children, said Nick Hunt of the River-side Health Authority, which was responsible for the recent

closure. The Publishers of VOGUE, HOUSE & GARDEN, BRIDES, TATLER, THE WORLD OF INTERIORS, GO and VANITY FAIR have a vacancy for a secretary/P.A. to their Financial Director. First class secretarial and organisational skills are essential. Please apply, with CV, to Barbara Tress, Vogue House, Elbow Square, London W1R 0AD.

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6.00 Ceefax (92544) 6.30 BBC Breakfast News (21771419)
9.05 Election Call, Paddy Ashdown, leader of the Liberal Democrats, answers questions from viewers and listeners. Simultaneous broadcast with Radio 4 (1361457)

10.00 News, regional news and weather (4708877) 10.05 Playdays (r) (5869419) 10.25 The Family News (r) (4701964) 10.35 Gibberish. Word game for two teams of celebrities. The question-master is Kenny Everett (7903611)

11.00 News, regional news and weather (3053506) 11.05 Rosemary Conley. Advice on good health. Plus Susan Vale assessing the worth of low-calorie, pre-packed meals (8980506) 11.30 People Today presented by Minnam Stoppard and Adrian Mills. Includes News, regional news and weather at 12.00 (8676457)

12.20 Pebble Mill. A motown music special features performances by the Four Tops, the Supremes and the Temptations (s) (8604167) 12.55 Regional News and weather (13601341)

1.00 One O'Clock News and weather (15322)

1.30 Neighbours. (Ceefax) (6428552) 1.50 Turnabout. Rob Curting with another round of the word power quiz (6428934)

2.15 Knots Landing. California-based drama serial (9623051) 3.00 The Odd Couple. Comedy series about two mismatched apartment-sharers (1435896)

3.25 Bazaar. Domestic hints magazine (1447631)

3.50 Badger and Badger. First of a 12-part children's comedy (r) (6658491) 4.05 Gravedale High. Cartoon series (r) (1856768) 4.30 Patrik Paillard. Episode one of a new 12-part industrial espionage serial starring Hendrik Marz (Ceefax) (8226983)

4.55 Newsround (3251419) 5.05 Blue Peter. (Ceefax) (s) (8457273) 5.35 Neighbours (r) (Ceefax) (s) (8685254) Northern Ireland: Inside Ulster

6.00 News with Peter Sissons and Moira Stuart (Ceefax) Weather (693) 6.30 Regional News Magazines (273). Northern Ireland: Neighbours; Wales (6 50) Party Election Broadcast (Plaid Cymru)

7.00 Wogan. Guests include Professor Stephen Hawking (s) (6761)

7.30 Watchdog. Includes a report on how most glass furniture sold in the country continues to flout British safety standards (457)



Hosting a trip down memory lane: Phillip Schofield (8.00pm)

8.00 Television's Greatest Hits.

CHOICE: Tapping the vein of small screen nostalgia which has been variously exploited by *Telly Addicts* and Channel 4's *TV Heaven*, this new series is a mix of television moments, news clips and personality interviews pegged to a year between 1962 and 1987. The choice of Philip Schofield as host seems a clear bid for the younger audience who otherwise might be put off such a trip down memory lane, and the content is aimed squarely at the popular market. Tonight's year is 1970. Among the less-than-momentous events covered are Ronnie Corbett's appearance on *It's Your Life*, Diana winning the Eurovision Song Contest and feminists heckling the Pope. In *My Way*, the American actress who was nearly lost with her April 13th accident seems almost to have strayed in from another show. (Ceefax) (s) (2709)

8.30 Man's Best Friend. The second of three documentaries in which Desmond Morris explores how domestic animals are creatures of the wild at heart (r) (Ceefax) (5454)

9.00 News and Campaign Report with Michael Buerk. (Ceefax) Weather (167167)

9.50 Party Election Broadcast by the Labour party (701693)

10.00 Panorama. The prime minister is interviewed live by David Dimbleby (704273)

10.40 Cagney and Lacey. The New York policewomen investigate the murder of a Cambodian lawyer and discover that it could have been racially motivated (r) (Ceefax) (236457)

11.30 The Victorian Kitchen Garden. A walled garden is restored to how it was a century ago (r) (Ceefax) (80148)

12.00 Advice Shop. A special report on discrimination against the Irish in this country (261303)

12.20am On the Hustings. The day's main election speeches (4905571)

12.50 Weather (4984533)

BBC2

6.45 Open University: the English Landscape Garden (7276631). Ends at 7.10

8.00 Breakfast News (6137525)

8.15 Holiday Outings. Anne Gregg takes a week-long painting course in Provence (r) (6127148) 8.30 Boating Butler. Tony Butler concludes his trip along the rivers and canals of the Midlands (r) (30070)

9.00 Film: Design for Scandal (1941, b/w) starring Rosalind Russell and Walter Pidgeon. Comedy about a reporter assigned to discredit the female judge who awarded his editor's wife a heavy divorce settlement. Directed by Norman Taurog (3105029)

10.20 Film: Mannequin (1937, b/w) starring Joan Crawford and Spencer Tracy. Drama about a woman who escapes from a loveless marriage and makes good, only for the man to re-enter her life — this time as a blackmailer. Directed by Frank Borzage (1538964)

11.50 Stage Struck. Five aspiring thespians take a drama course (r) (Ceefax) (7552254) 12.30 Among the Wild Chimpanzees. The work of Jane Goodall in East Africa (r) (7088728) 1.20 Fingermouse. Animation (r) (8309456) 1.35 In the Post. Specialist phylet (r) (12041803)

2.00 News and weather (30200896) followed by Grand Prix. Brazilian highlights (r) (4952148)

3.00 News and weather (9326821) followed by Village Praise from the Sherwood Forest area (r) (Ceefax) (s) (9761525)

3.40 Glynn Christian's Serendipity. The chef and restaurateur samples tropical fruits in Sri Lanka (r) (2572709) 3.50 News, regional news and weather (2561693)

4.00 Film: The Great Gatsby (1949, b/w) starring Alan Ladd and Betty Field. F. Scott Fitzgerald's tale of lavish living and private passion in the United States during the "Roaring '20s". Directed by Elliott Nugent (85612)

5.30 Film 92 with Barry Norman. Includes a review of the Oscar awards (r) (s) (322). Wales: Bitten by the Bug 5.45 Experiment! 5.55 Party Election Broadcast (Plaid Cymru)

6.00 The Addams Family. Classic ghoulish humour based on the series of cartoons published in *New Yorker* magazine. (Ceefax) (851438)

6.25 DEF II begins with The Fresh Prince of Bel Air. Adventures of streetwise young man living with relations in affluent California (931148)

6.50 Standing Room Only. Football magazine. Includes Celtic manager Liam Brady talking about his career and the modern game (757231)

7.30 Young Musician of the Year. Five musicians contest the piano final (428709)



Reading in an ancient tongue: a Falasha holy man (8.10pm)

8.10 Horizons: Before Babel.

CHOICE: There are some 5,000 languages in the world, but some linguists claim that they can be traced back to a handful of groups and ultimately to a single source. Christopher Hale's film reports on the attempts by experts from the old Soviet Union, the United States and Israel to decipher the language of the ancients, and the efforts that surround their efforts. To the layman, the research seems surprisingly simple, being in many cases based on groups of words from many different tongues that have clear similarities. Linguists in the Soviet Union took the process back 15,000 years, postulating the existence of a language which was spoken across half the world's surface. From here the jump to a single language source is not a huge one, and biological and archaeological evidence tends to point the same way. (Ceefax) (s) (551761)

9.00 The Mary Whitehouse Experience. Off-beat comedy sketches (s) (2780) 9.30 Ruby Takes a Trip. The brash Ruby Wax repays to California to seek the advice of shamans (r) (Ceefax) (5255)

10.30 Party Election Broadcast by the Labour party (772419)

10.40 Newsnight with Jeremy Paxman (941877)

11.35 The Late Show. Arts and media magazine (s) (558051)

12.00 Sam Weather (5883571)

12.10 Open University: The Gun Industry (4988804). Ends at 12.40

ITV

6.00 TV-am (8243896)

9.25 Lucky Ladders (s) (4876322) 9.55 Thames News (8557362)

10.00 The Time... The Place... Mike Scott chairs a discussion on a topical subject (2580457)

10.40 This Morning. Magazine series (1674815)

12.10 Rosie and Jim. Children's puppet series (7500964)

12.30 Lunchtime News with Nicholas Owen and Sonia Rusler. (Orade) Weather (8317877) 1.10 Thames News (2473478)

1.20 Home and Away. (Orade) (43108952) 1.50 A County Practice (s) (55176436)

2.20 Yan Can Cook. Martin Yan prepares Shanghai duck, salad and double prawns in spicy tomato sauce, and a range of garnishes (5920825) 2.50 Families. Soap linking the north of England with Australia (s) (8481457)

3.15 ITN News headlines (8176588) 3.20 Thames News headlines (5621411) 3.25 The Young Doctors. Drama series set in a large Australian city hospital (1423051)

3.55 Cartoon featuring Piggy (4458916) 4.00 Wall of the Banshees. Fantasy adventure series starring Michael Angelis and Sushie Blake. (Orade) (s) (7703083) 4.25 Chip 'n' Dale — Rescue Rangers. Cartoon (293964) 4.50 Art Attack. Art show series presented by Neil Buchanan (5245815)

5.10 Blockbusters. General knowledge quiz game for teenagers. With Bob Holness (8441612)

5.40 Early Evening News with John Suchet. (Orade) Weather (587273)

6.00 Home and Away (r) (Orade) (761)

6.30 Thames News. (Orade) (572544)

6.55 Party Election Broadcast by the Labour party. (Orade) (173457)

7.00 The Magic Comedy Strip. Comedy and magic from Rudy Coby, Terry Hobson, David Williamson and Joe Pasquale who are joined this week by illusionists John and Charlotte Pendragon (1457)

7.30 Coronation Street. (Orade) (525)



Open to the audience: Sue Lawley acts as host (8.00pm)

8.00 World in Action: The Granada 500 presented by Sue Lawley. Five hundred voters from Bolton, a town with two marginal seats, question party leaders (6631)

9.00 Suspicious Circumstances.

CHOICE: Edward Woodward dusts down the files and re-opens the cases of a popular boxer and the first woman to be hanged in Britain in the 20th century. Freddie Mills was briefly the world light heavyweight champion, went on to become a genial television personality and was found shot dead near his Soho nightclub in 1965. The verdict was suicide, but Mills's association with London gangland led many to suspect murder. Louise Mallet was convicted of killing her young son, but went to the gallows protesting her innocence. Dramatic reconstructions feature Michael Mills, late of *EastEnders*, as Mills and Michelle Mallet as Mallet. If these playlets are as gripping as the real-life cases that inspired them, the series is on firm ground in raising the question: does it need to be a mysterious death to arouse public curiosity? (Orade) (s) (5167)

10.00 News at Ten with Julia Somerville and Alastair Stewart. (Orade) Weather (79341) 10.30 Thames News (792273)

10.40 Film: Trapped in Silence (1986) starring Keifer Sutherland. A made-for-television drama based on the book by psychologist Torey Hayden, about selective mutism, a condition in which people refuse to speak. Directed by Michael Tuchner (6852186)

12.30 Sportsworld Extra. Includes boxing, the British welterweight title eliminator between Eamon Lougheed and Tony Ebuka (48620)

1.30 Film: The Court Martial of George Armstrong Custer (1977) starring James Olson. A made-for-television what-might-have-been movie about the events after the massacre at Little Big Horn, which Custer survived only to be accused of allowing his men to be slaughtered. Directed by Michael Jordan (53945)

3.30 Reap the Whirlwind (s) (22465) 3.45 James Come Home. The Manchester band James in concert in their home town (72484)

5.30 ITN Morning News with Tim Nelson (32133). Ends at 6.00

CHANNEL 4

6.00 Channel 4 Daily (8241426)

9.25 Film: The Phantom Light (1934), also starring Gordon Harker and Binnie Hale. Comedy thriller about a light-eyed keeper who helps catch a gang of weevils operating on the Welsh coast. Directed by Michael Powell (5237725)

10.45 Hamilton in the Music Festival. A Halls and Bachelors animation about a musical elephant (5237035)

11.00 Kingdoms of the East. A Survival documentary on the unusual animals that inhabit Hong Kong (Teletext) (256254)

12.30 Right to Reply (r) (Teletext) (256254)

12.30 Business Daily presented by Susannah Simon (558177)

1.00 Sesame Street. Early learning series (1413032)

2.00 Film: Rulers of the Sea (1955), b/w, starring Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. Will Fyffe and Margaret Lockwood. Nautical drama about the 19th-century rivalry between steam and sailing ship owners. Directed by Frank Lord (117877) 3.45 The Hoarder. Canadian animation (5203308)

4.00 Flowering Passions. Anna Pavord meets two over trying to breed the perfect rose (r) (Teletext) (256254)

4.15 Fifteen to One. Fast-moving general knowledge quiz (s) (4138)

5.00 The Late Late Show. Music and chat from Dublin, hosted by Gay Byrne (1070)

6.00 The Cosby Show. American domestic comedy (s) (1740162) 7.30 Tonight with Jonathan Ross. The guest is actor Forum Williams (s) (6831763)

7.30 Channel 4 News with Jon Snow, and David Sazman (Teletext) Weather (214167)

7.50 Voters. Four Ianelli construction workers discuss general election issues (465964)

8.00 Brookside. Soap set in suburban Merseyside (Teletext) (54191)

8.30 Evening Shade. Comedy series set in small town America starring Burt Reynolds as the local school's football coach (s) (2594)

9.00 Inside view: members of Hackney police force (9.00pm)

9.00 Cutting Edge: Coppers.

CHOICE: Hackney in East London is described in this film as Britain's most notorious police district. For years officers have faced allegations of corruption and drug dealing by local officers. The Hackney Community Defence Association has published reports on 30 officers and is pursuing 25 actions against the police in the civil courts. The police retort that they are trying to do the best against heavy odds in a violent and impoverished inner-city area whose streets are rife with crime, drugs and prostitution. Paul Greengrass's documentary presents an inside view of the Hackney force and their accusers. It includes the first television footage of an internal police complaints hearing. The film tries to illuminate without taking sides, revealing an accumulation of antagonism and mistrust which will be desperately hard to break down (7709)

10.00 Northern Exposure. Comedy starring Rob Morrow as a New York doctor working in a remote Alaskan village (s) (4286)

11.00 Timewipe III: Rituals of Love. Silent series made by film-makers and video artists from around the world (s) (37983)

11.45 Midnight Special presented by Sheena McDonald. Includes a party political broadcast by the Labour party (201070)

1.45am Tonight with Jonathan Ross. As 6.30pm (s) (84378) Ends at 2.15

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TSW

As London excepts: 2.20pm WIR: World of the East (5920825) 2.50-3.15 The Young Doctors (8441612) 2.55-3.35 Home and Away (1424720) 3.10-3.55 Families (441612) 6.00 TSW: Today (761) 6.30-6.55 Granada Tonight (5621411) 6.50-7.00 The Last Wagon (572544) 10.45 The Hit Man (6852186)

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